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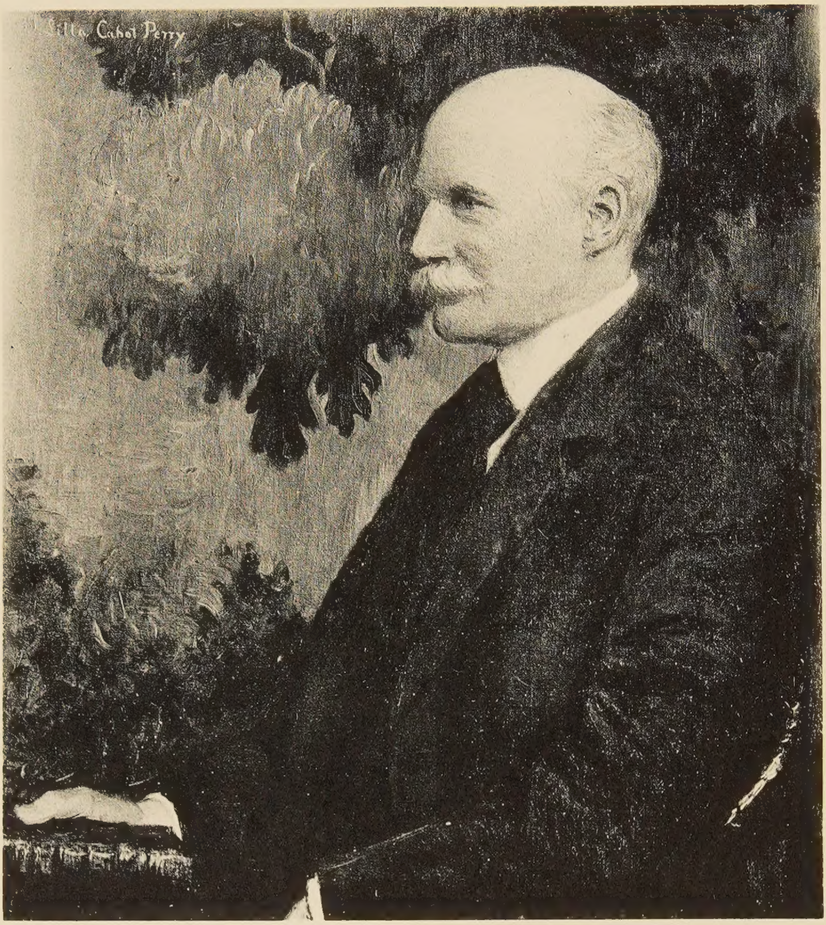
Lilla Cabot Perry

Portrait by Lilla Cabot Perry

Worthington C. Ford

PROCEEDINGS
of the
Massachusetts Historical Society

C

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Changes in Membership

since December 31, 1952

DEATHS

Resident Members

1919, Charles Francis Adams, III, June 10, 1954
1920, Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., June 8, 1955
1921, Allan Forbes, July 9, 1955
1921, Robert Lincoln O'Brien, November 23, 1955
1925, Alfred Marston Tozzer, October 5, 1954
1928, Stephen Willard Phillips, July 6, 1955
1931, Robert Howard Lord, May 22, 1954
1933, James Duncan Phillips, October 19, 1954
1935, Howard Corning, February 13, 1956
1936, James Melville Hunnewell, March 22, 1954
1941, David Cheever, August 13, 1955
1951, Willard Goodrich Cogswell, May 20, 1955
1953, Roger Ernst, March 29, 1955

Honorary Members

1935, Friedrich Meinecke, February 6, 1954
1948, Vicente Lecuna, February 20, 1954
1953, Duke of Alba, September 24, 1953[1]
1954, Charles Warren, August 16, 1954[2]

Corresponding Members

1908, Rafael Altamira y Crevea, June 1, 1951[3]
1930, William Scott Ferguson, April 28, 1954
1931, Herbert Putnam, August 14, 1955
1941, Sir Herbert Brown Ames, March 31, 1954
1944, Frederick Lewis Allen, February 13, 1954
1945, Douglas Southall Freeman, June 13, 1953
1946, William Greene Roelker, May 29, 1953
1948, James Garfield Randall, February 20, 1953
1951, John Marshall Phillips, May 7, 1953
1954, Bliss Perry, February 13, 1954[4]

[1] Elected Corresponding Member, March 11, 1937; Honorary Member, January 8, 1953.

[2] Elected Resident Member, February 8, 1923; Corresponding Member, November 9, 1944; Honorary Member, March 11, 1954.

[3] News of the death of this Member did not reach the Society until it was too late for it to appear in *Proceedings* 68.

[4] Elected Resident Member, May 11, 1905; Corresponding Member, February 11, 1954.

MEMBERSHIPS CEASED

Resident

1906, Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe[5]
1914, Samuel Eliot Morison[6]
1936, James Bryant Conant[7]
1938, Albert Francis Bigelow[8]

Corresponding

1951, Lyman Henry Butterfield[9]

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[5] Elected Resident Member, November 8, 1906; Honorary Member, May 12, 1955.

[6] Elected Resident Member, November 12, 1914; Honorary Member, January 12, 1956.

[7] Elected Resident Member, November 12, 1936; Corresponding Member, February 11, 1954.

[8] Resigned on November 10, 1955.

[9] Elected Corresponding Member, December 13, 1951; Resident Member, November 10, 1954.

Proceedings

1947-1950

Benjamin Waterhouse on Luigi Cornaro's *Long and Healthful Life*

HENRY ROUSE VIETS[1]

ONE of the most popular medical books ever written, if not the most popular, came from the pen of a layman, the Venetian nobleman, Luigi Cornaro, who died in 1566, in his one-hundredth year. Towards the close of his long life, in 1558, after years of debauchery and subsequent sobriety, Cornaro published, at Padua, his *Trattato de la Vita Sobria.*[2] The book became popular after 1613, when Lessius issued a Latin translation; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries nearly fifty editions were printed in English, French, Dutch, German, Italian, and Latin. Herbert translated the Lessius edition into English in 1634, the beginning of a long line of British printings.[3] Even now the book is frequently reprinted. The sound common sense of the author, coupled with his romantic life, makes a wide appeal to the public. The medical profession has also recognized the value of Cornaro's essay. The book, in Garrison's opinion, "is probably the best treatise on personal hygiene" in existence today.[4]

Certainly, in 1787, Cornaro's book must have made an equally good impression on Benjamin Waterhouse, the astute young professor of medicine in the newly developed Harvard Medical School. Noting in the newspaper that George Jerry Osborne, the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, printer, was about to publish an American edition, Waterhouse wrote a letter from Cambridge, Massachusetts, in praise of "that excellent little book," and with the hope that his communication "might possibly render it more extensively used." Osborne published the letter in the preface of his edition, issued at Portsmouth in 1788.[5] See pages 5 and 6.

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[1] This paper was read at the October, 1947, meeting.

[2] *Trattato de la Vita Sobria. Del Magnifico M. Luigi Cornaro Nobile Vinitiano* (Padoua [*sic*], 1558). Copies of the first edition are recorded in the Army Medical Library, the Harvard College Library, the British Museum, and Cambridge University. The copy in the George Herbert Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard College, measures 14.5 by 20.3 centimeters. The book contains the first discourse, written at the age of eighty-three; three more, composed at eighty-six, ninety-one, and ninety-five, were added to later editions.

[3] William E. A. Axon, "Cornaro in English": *The Library,* II (April 1, 1901), 120–129.

[4] Fielding H. Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (Fourth edition: Philadelphia, 1929).

Waterhouse, in 1787, was thirty-three years of age and had been Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at Harvard for four years. Prior to accepting the chair he had been exceptionally well trained from 1775 to 1782 in London, Edinburgh, and Leyden. As editions of Cornaro's book were published in London in 1767, 1768, and 1779, it was probably one of these printings that Waterhouse brought back to Boston and lent to his "venerable friend, the late Doctor Chauncy," who, rather surprisingly, had never seen the book.[6] Chauncy was an enthusiastic follower of Cornaro during the last few years of his life; he died at the age of eighty-two in 1787, the same year Waterhouse wrote to Osborne. Presumably, Waterhouse served as his physician. It was Chauncy who urged upon Waterhouse the need for a printing of Cornaro's text in America. Waterhouse, in turn, prompt to grasp at a medical need, found that the printer Osborne had already prepared a publication.[7]

---

[5] *The Probable Way of Attaining a Long and Healthful Life; with the Means of Correcting a Bad Constitution, &c. Written Originally in Italian by Lewis Cornaro, a Noble Venetian, when He was Near an Hundred Years of Age* (Sixth edition: London). Reprinted by George Jerry Osborne (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1788). Copies are recorded in the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Public Library, the Harvard College Library, the Watkinson Library, John Carter Brown Library, and the Library of Congress. The edition used by me is the one in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. Previous editions reprinted by Osborne are unknown to the author.

[6] Charles Chauncy (1705–1787), a great-grandson of Charles Chauncy (1592–1671/2), second president of Harvard College. For sixty years he was minister of the First Church in Boston.

[7] George Jerry Osborne, Jr., who died June 2, 1800, printed four newspapers: the *Exeter Chronicle*, Exeter, New Hampshire (1784), the *New-Hampshire Gazette* (1784–1786), the *New-Hampshire Spy* (1786–1792), and the *Republican Ledger* (1799–1800), the last three in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The following books also came from Osborne's press: *Osborne's New-Hampshire Register: With, An Al-Manack, For the Year of Christian Era 1789. Calculated for the Meridian of Portsmouth, Lat[itude], 43°5 North* (Portsmouth, [1789]); and *The Poetical Miscellany; Containing a Collection of the Most Valuable Pieces from Goldsmith, &c.* (First American edition: Newburyport, 1793).

For notes on Osborne, see Timothy Alden, Jr., *The Glory of America. A Century Sermon Delivered at the South Church, in Portsmouth, Newhampshire in January, MDCCCI. Together with . . . Historical Notes, and . . . an account of the newspapers printed in the State* (Portsmouth, 1801), printed by William Treadwell and Company. Also, see Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1947), two volumes.

SPECTATOR, Vol. III, N^o. cxcv.

THE *moſt remarkable inſtance of the efficacy of temperance towards the procuring of long Life, is what we meet with, in a little book publiſhed by* LEWIS CORNARO, *the* Venetian: *which I the rather mention becauſe it is of undoubted credit, as the late* Venetian *Ambaſſadour, who was of the ſame family, atteſted more than once in converſation, when he reſided in* England. Cornaro, *who was the author of the little Treatiſe I am mentioning, was of an infirm conſtitution, till about forty, when by obſtinately perſiſting in an exact courſe of temperance, he recovered a perfect ſtate of Health; inſomuch that at fourſcore he publiſhed his book, which has been tranſlated into Engliſh. He lived to give a third or fourth edition of it; and after having paſſed his hundredth year, died without pain or agony, and like one who falls aſleep. The Treatiſe I mention, has been taken notice of by ſeveral eminent authors, and is written with ſuch a ſpirit of cheerfulneſs, religion, and good ſenſe, as are the natural concomitants of temperance and ſobriety. The mixture of the old Man in it, is rather a recommendation than a diſcredit to it.*

[In addition to the above, and to give the reader ſome idea of the merits of this little book, we are happy in laying before them the following copy of a letter from B. WATERHOUSE, M.D, &c. on the ſubject.]

CAMBRIDGE, (Maſſ.) November 2d, 1787.

SIR,

OBSERVING *in a late paper, that you were about publiſhing a new edition of* Cornaro on Health and long Life, *it occured to me, that I could communicate ſomething relative to that excellent little book, which might poſſibly render it more extenſively uſeful.——However celebrated a book, the reſult of experience, may have been in a far diſtant country, there is no ſmall ſatisfaction in knowing that its rules have been tried and approved in the country we live in. What makes me more ſolicitous to add to the authority of a work I ſo much admire, is, that ſcarcely one perſon in ten thouſand put theſe rules in practice, becauſe they require a degree of good ſenſe, reſolution, temperance and virtue, not commonly met with.* [6]

I lent Cornaro *to my venerable friend, the late* Doctor CHAUNCY, *who I was ſurprized to find had never ſeen the work. When he returnde* *it, he told me, he had read it again and again with more pleaſure than any book of the kind he ever met with; for, ſays he, in my younger days I injured my conſtitution by ſevere ſtudy as much as* Cornaro *did by debaucheries, and as every wiſe man ſhould be his own Phyſician, I endeavoured to find out the cauſes of theſe depredations in my frame, and apply the remedy; and when I was aſſured that my eating, exerciſe and my habit of cloſe thinking were diſproportionate, I began the reform, and actually adopted the very method purſued by the noble Venetian, merely by conſulting my own feelings, and without knowing any one had done ſo before me.——In ſhort, my plan of living was like* Cornaro's, *and my ſucceſs the ſame; I now, ſays he, live as regular as the ſun in the firmament, and if I eat a drachm weight more of fleſh than uſual, I feel it injure my ſyſtem and cloud my faculties.*

He has frequently requeſted me, as the book was out of print, to cauſe a new edition to be printed in Boſton, and ſaid he would take off a number of copies to preſent to his Brethren, and I actually engaged to exert myſelf in its publication, provided the Doctor would write a preface expreſſive of what he had ſo often and ſo emphatically declared to me and others, reſpecting the merit of this little book. I have reaſon to think he began but never finiſhed it, which I have ſcarcly ceaſed to regret, becauſe any ſuch opinion coming from ſo great a man, would, like a body falling from a great height, make a deep impreſſion.

I am, SIR,
Your very humble Servant,

B. WATERHOUSE, M. D. Profeſſor of the Theory and Practice of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and of Natural Hiſtory in the College of Rhode-Iſland.

To Mr. *OSBORNE,*
Publiſher of CORNARO, [7]

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

THE

PROBABLE WAY OF ATTAINING A *LONG and HEALTHFUL LIFE;*

WITH THE MEANS OF CORRECTING

A BAD CONSTITUTION, &c.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN ITALIAN BY

LEWIS CORNARO,

A NOBLE VENETIAN,

When he was near an Hundred Years of Age.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

LONDON, PRINTED:
PORTSMOUTH, RE-PRINTED BY GEORGE JERRY
OSBORNE, AND TO BE SOLD AT HIS OFFICE,
NEAR THE STATE-HOUSE,
M,DCC,LXXXVIII,

THE
Probable Way of attaining A Long and Healthful Life.

CHAP. I.

OF A SOBER AND REGULAR LIFE.

NOTHING is more certain, than that cuſtom becomes a ſecond nature, and has a great influence upon our bodies. Nay, it has too often more power over the mind, than reaſon itſelf. The honeſteſt man alive, in keeping company with libertines, by degrees forgets the maxims of probity, which he had imbibed from the very breaſt, and gives himſelf the looſe in thoſe vices which he ſees practiſed. If he be ſo happy as to relinquiſh that bad company, and to meet with better, virtue will triumph in its turn: and he inſenſibly reſumes the wiſdom which he had abandoned. In a word, all the alterations which we perceive in the temper, carriage, and manners of moſt men, have ſcarce any other foundation, but the force and prevalency of cuſtom.

I have obſerved that it is cuſtom which has given riſe to two very dangerous evils within a little time in *Italy*; the firſt I reckon to be flattery and ceremonies; and the ſecond, intemperance both in eating and drinking.

The firſt of theſe baniſhes out of human converſation, all plain dealing, frankneſs and ſincerity: and againſt the latter I declare open war, as being the moſt deſtructive of health, and the greateſt enemy it has.

'Tis an unhappineſs into which the men of the age are fallen, that variety of diſhes is *A-la-mode,* and become ſo far preferable to frugality. And yet the one is the product of temperance; whilſt pride, and an unreſtrained appetite, is the parent of the other. Notwithſtanding the difference of their origin, yet prodigality is at preſent ſtiled magnificence, [8] generoſity and grandeur, and is commonly eſteemed of in the world; whilſt frugality paſſes for avarice, and fordidneſs of ſpirit in the eyes of moſt men. Here is a viſible error, which cuſtom and habit have eſtabliſhed.

This error has ſo far ſeduced us, that it has prevailed upon us to renounce a frugal way of living, tho' taught us by nature, even from the firſt age of the world, as being that which would prolong our days; and has caſt us into thoſe exceſſes, which ſerve only to abridge the number of them. We become old, before we have been able to taſte the pleaſure of being young; and the time which ought to be the ſummer of our lives, is often the beginning of their winter. We ſoon perceive our ſtrength to fail, and weakneſs to come on apace, and decline, even before we come to perfection. On the contrary, ſobriety maintains us in the natural ſtate wherein we ought to be: our youth is laſting, and our manhood attended with a vigor that does not begin to decay, till after a great many years. A whole century muſt be run out, before wrinkles can be formed on the face, or grey hairs grow on the head. This is ſo true, that when men were not adicted to voluptuouſneſs, they had more ſtrength and vivacity at fourſcore than we have at preſent at forty.

O unhappy Italy! Doſt thou not perceive that gluttony and exceſs robs thee every year of more inhabitants, than peſtilence, war and famine could have deſtroyed? Thy true plagues are the frequent feaſtings, which are ſo extravagant, that no tables can be made large enough to hold that number of diſhes which prodigality lays upon them, but they are forced to be heaped upon one another in Pyramids. What madneſs, what fury is this? Regulate this diſorder, if not for God's ſake, yet for thy own. I am ſure there is no ſin, that diſpleaſes him more, nor any voluptuouſneſs that can be more pernicious to thyſelf. Endeavour then to heal thyſelf of this—as being one of thoſe epidemical diſtempers, from which thou mayeſt be preſerved by wholeſome food, and by the precautions that may prevent them. It is very eaſy to avoid the evils which an exceſs in eating or drinking may bring upon us; nor is it any hard matter to find out a ſovereign remedy againſt repletion, ſince nature itſelf has taught us it. Let [9] us only give it what it requires, and not over-charge it; for a ſmall matter ſuffices nature. The rules of temperance are derived from thoſe of right reaſon. Let us accuſtom our ſelves to eat only to ſupport life; what is more than neceſſary for our nouriſhment, ſows the ſeeds of ſickneſs and death; it is a pleaſure, for which we muſt pay very dear, and which can neither be innocent, nor excuſable, ſince it may be ſo prejudicial to us.

How many have I ſeen cut off, in the flower of their days, by the unhappy cuſtom of high-feeding? How many excellent friends has gluttony deprived me of, who might have been ſtill an ornament to the world, an honour to their country, and have occaſioned me as much ſatisfaction in enjoying them, as now I have ſorrow in loſing them?

'Tis to put a ſtop to this growing contagion, that I have undertaken to ſhew in this ſmall tract, that the number and variety of diſhes is a fatal abuſe, which ought to be corrected, by living ſoberly, as did the patriarchs of old. Several young perſons, who for their good qualities, merit my eſteem, having loſt their fathers ſooner than they could have expected, having expreſſed a great deſire of being acquainted with my manner of living. I could not but think their curioſity very reaſonable, ſince nothing is more reaſonable, than to wiſh for long life. The more we advance in years, the larger will our experience be; and if nature, which aims only at our good, adviſes us to grow old, and concurs with us in that deſign, it is becauſe ſhe is ſenſible that the body being weakened by time, which deſtroys all things, the mind, when diſengaged from the ſnares of voluptuouſneſs, is more at leiſure to make uſe of its reaſon, and to taſte the ſweets of virtue. Hereupon I was willing to ſatisfy thoſe persons, and at the ſame time to do ſome ſervice to the public, by declaring what were the motives that induced me to renounce intemperance, and live a ſober life; by ſhewing the method I obſerve, and what benefit I find thereby; and laſtly, by demonſtrating, that nothing can be more beneficial to a man, than to obſerve a regimen, that it is practicable, and very neceſſary to be followed.

I ſay then, that the weakneſs of my conſtitution, which was conſiderably increaſed by my way of living, caſt me into [10] ſo deplorable a condition, that I was forced to bid a final adieu to all feaſtings, to which I had all my life long a violent inclination. I was ſo often engaged in exceſſes of this kind, that my tender conſtitution could not hold up under the fatigues of them. I fell into ſeveral diſtempers, ſuch as pains of the ſtomach, the cholick, and the gout. I had a lingering fever, and an intolerable thirſt continually hanging upon me. This made me deſpair of any cure, and though I was then not above thirty five or forty years old, yet I had no hopes of finding any end of my diſtempers, but what ſhould end my life too.

The beſt Phyſicians in Italy made uſe of all their ſkill for my recovery, but without ſuccefs. At laſt when they quite deſpaired of me, they told me they knew only of one remedy that could cure me, if I had reſolution enough to undertake and continue it; to wit, a ſober and regular life, which they exhorted me to live the remainder of my days, aſſuring me, that if intemperance had brought ſo many diſtempers it was only temperance that could free me from them.

I reliſhed this propoſal; and perceived, that notwithſtanding the miſerable condition to which my intemperance had reduced me, yet I was not ſo incurable, but the contrary might recover, or at leaſt eaſe me. And I was the more eaſily perſuaded to it, becauſe I knew ſeveral perſons of a great age and a bad conſtitution, who only prolonged their lives by obſerving a regimen; whilſt, on the other hand, I knew others who were born with a wonderful conſtitution, and yet broke it by their debaucheries. It ſeemed very natural to me, that a different way of living and acting produces different effects; ſince art may conduce to correct, perfect, weaken or deſtroy nature, according to the good or bad uſe that is made of it.

The phyſicians beginning to find me tractable, added to what they had before told me, that I muſt either chuſe a regimen, or death; that I could not live if I did not follow their advice; and that if I deferred much longer taking my reſolutions accordingly, it would be too late to do it. This was home: I was loth to die ſo ſoon, and I could not tell how to bear the thougts of it; beſides I was convinced of their experience and ability. In ſhort, being morally certain, [11] that my beſt way was to believe them, I reſolved upon putting into practice this courſe of life, how auſtere ſoever it ſeemed to me.

I intreated my phyſicians to inform me exactly, after what manner I ought to govern myſelf? To this they replied, that I muſt always manage myſelf as a ſick perſon; eat nothing but what was good and that in a ſmall quantity.

They had a long time before preſcribed the ſame thing to me; but till then, I made a jeſt of it. When I was cloyed with the diet they ordered me, I did eat of all thoſe meats which they had forbidden, and perceiving myſelf hot and dry, I drank wine in abundance. However, I do not boaſt of this my conduct: I was one of thoſe imprudent patients, who not being able to reſolve upon doing whatever is preſcribed them for their health. mind nothing elſe but deceiving their phyſicians, though they prove the greateſt cheats to themſelves at laſt.

As ſoon as I reſolved to believe my phyſicians, and thought that it was a diſgrace not to have courage enough to be wiſe; I accuſtomed myſelf ſo much to live ſoberly, that I contracted a habit of ſo doing, without any trouble or violence offered to myſelf. In a little time I found relief; and (which may ſeem to ſome incredible) at the year's end, I found myſelf not only on the mending hand, but I was perfectly cured of all my diſtempers.

When I ſaw I was recovered, and began to taſte the ſweets of this ſort of reſurection, I made abundance of reflections upon the uſefulneſs of a regular life: I admired the efficacy of it; and perceived, that if it had been ſo powerful as to cure me, it would be capable enough to preſerve me from thoſe diſtempers to which I had always been ſubject.

The experience I had thereof removing all farther ſcruple, I began to ſtudy what food was proper for me. I was minded to try, whether what pleaſed my taſte, were beneficial, or prejudicial to my health; and whether the proverb was true, which ſays, That what delights the palate, cannot but be good for the heart? I found it to be falſe; and that it only ſerves as an excuſe to the ſenſualiſt[s], who are for indulging themſelves in whatever might pleaſe their appetites. [12]

Formerly I could not drink my wine with ice; I loved heady wines, melons, all ſorts of raw fruits, ſalads, ſalt meats, high ſauces, and baked meats, notwithſtanding they were prejudicial to me. Hereupon I made no account of the proverb; and being convinced of its falſity, I made choice of ſuch wines and meats as agreed with my conſtitution: I proportioned the quantity thereof according to the ſtrength of my ſtomach. I declined all diet that did not agree with me; and made it a law to myſelf, to lay a reſtraint upon my appetite; ſo that I always roſe from table, with a ſtomach to eat more if I pleaſed. In a word, I entirely renounced intemperance, and made a vow to continue the remainder of my life under the ſame regimen that I had obſerved: A happy reſolution this, the keeping whereof has freed me from all my infirmities, which without it were incurable! I never before lived a year together, without falling once at leaſt into ſome violent diſtemper; but this never happened to me afterwards: On the contrary, I have been always healthful, ever ſince I have been temperate.

The nouriſhment which I take, being in quality and quantity juſt enough to ſuffice nature, breeds no ſuch corrupt humours, as ſpoil the beſt conſtitutions. 'Tis true, indeed, that beſides this precaution, I made uſe of many others.——For inſtance, I took care to keep myſelf from heats and colds, I abſtained from all violent exerciſes, as alſo from ill hours and women. I no longer lived in places where was an unwholeſome air, and took ſpecial care to avoid the being expoſed to violent winds, or to the exceſſive heat of the ſun. All theſe cautions may ſeem morally impoſſible to thoſe men who, in their tranſactions in the world, follow no other guides but their own paſſions; and yet they are not hard to be practiſed, when a man can be ſo juſt to himſelf, as to prefer the preſervation of his health to all the pleaſures of ſenſe and neceſſary hurry of buſineſs.

I likewise found it advantageous to me, not to abandon myſelf to melancholy, by baniſhing out of my mind whatever might occaſion it: I made uſe of all the powers of my reaſon, to reſtrain the force of thoſe paſſions, whoſe violence does often break the conſtitution of the ſtrongeſt bodies. 'Tis [13] true, indeed, that I was not always ſo much a philoſopher, not yet ſo cautious, but that ſometimes I fell into thoſe diſorders which I would have avoided; but this rarely happened: And the guard I kept over my appetite, which ought chiefly to be minded, prevented all the pernicious conſequences, which might have ariſen from my petty irregularities.

This is certain that the paſſions have leſs influence, and cauſe leſs diſorder, in a body that is regular in its diet, than in another which gives the looſe to the cravings of an inordinate appetite. *Galen* made this obſervation before me; and I might produce ſeveral authorities to ſupport this opinion, but I will go only upon mine own experience. It was impoſſible for me ſometimes to abſtain from extremes of hot and cold, and to get an entire maſtery over all the occaſions of trouble which had croſs'd my whole life, but yet theſe emotions made no alteration in the ſtate of my health: and I met with a great many inſtances of perſons who ſunk under a leſs weight, both of body and mind.

There was in our family a conſiderable ſuit of law depending againſt ſome perſons, whoſe might overcame our right. One of my brothers, and ſome of my relations, who having never ſmarted for their debauches, were the more free to indulge them, could not conquer that concern which the loſs of this ſuit of law wrought in them, and perfectly died of grief. I was as ſenſible as they were of the injuſtice that was done us, but I did not die for it; and I attribute their loſs, and my wellfare, to the difference in our way of living. I was made amends for that diſgrace, by the comfort I had of not ſinking under it; and now make no manner of doubt, but that the paſſions are leſs violent in a man that lives ſoberly, than in one that does not.

At ſeventy years of age, I had another experiment of the uſefulneſs of my regimen. A buſineſs of an extraordinary conſequence drawing me into the country, my coach horſes went faſter than I would have them; being laſh'd with the whip, got a head, and ran away with me. I was overthrown, and dragg'd along way before they [14] could ſtay the horſes. They took me out of the coach, with my head broken, a leg and an arm out of joint, and, in a word, in a very lamentable condition. As ſoon as they had brought me home again, they ſent for the phyſicians, who did not expect I could live three days to an end: however, they reſolv'd upon letting of me blood, to prevent the coming of a fever, which uſually happens in ſuch caſes. I was ſo confident, that the regular life which I had led, had prevented the contracting of any ill humours which I might be afraid of, that I oppos'd their preſcription. I ordered them to dreſs my head, to ſet my leg and my arm, to rub me with ſome ſpecifick oils, proper for bruiſes; and, without any other remedies, I was ſoon cured, to the great aſtoniſhment of the phyſicians, and of all thoſe who knew me. From hence I infer, that a regular life is an excellent preſervative againſt all natural evils, and that intemperance produces quite contrary effects.

About five years ago, I was over-perſuaded to do a thing, which had like to have coſt me dear. My relations, whom I love, and who have a real tenderneſs for me; my friends with whom I was willing to comply in any thing that was reaſonable; laſtly, my phyſicians, who were looked upon as the oracles of health, did all agree, that I eat too little; that the nouriſhment I took, was not ſufficient for one of my years, that I ought not only to ſupport nature, but likewiſe to increaſe the vigour of it, by eating a little more than I did; it was in vain for me to repreſent to them, that nature is content with a little; that this little having preſerved me ſo long in health, cuſtom was become a ſecond nature to me: that it was more reaſonable, ſince natural heat abates in proportion as one grows older, that I ſhould likewiſe abridge my allowance in diet.

To add the greater force to my opinion, I mentioned to them the proverb which ſaith, *He that eats little, eats much*; that is, if a man is willing to live long in the enjoyment of his food, let him live ſparingly. I likewiſe told them, that what one leaves at a meal does more good, than what one has already eaten. But all this could not prevail upon them; and being wearied with their importunities, I [15] was forced to ſubmit. Having therefore before been uſed to take twelve ounces, in bread, ſoups, yolks of eggs, and meat, I increaſed it to fourteen ounces a day; and drinking about fourteen of wine, I added two ounces more and made it ſixteen.

This augmentation of diet was ſo prejudicial to me, that as briſk as I was, I began to be ſad, and out of humour; every thing offended me, and upon the leaſt occaſion I broke out into a paſſion, ſo that a dog (as they ſay) would not live with me. At twelve days end, I was taken with a violent fit of the cholick, and that followed by a continual fever, which tormented me five and thirty days together, and for the firſt fifteen days put me into ſuch an agony, that it was impoſſible for me to take a quarter of an hour's ſleep at a time. There was no occaſion to aſk my friends whether they deſpaired of my life, and whether they repented of the advice they had given me; for they ſeveral times believed that I was a dying man, juſt giving up the ghoſt. However, I recovered, though I was ſeventy eight years of age, and though we had a harder winter than is uſual in our climate.

Nothing freed me from this danger, but the regimen which I had ſo long obſerved. It had prevented me from contracting thoſe ill humours, with which they are troubled in their old age, who are not ſo wiſe as to take care of themſelves whilſt they are young. I did not perceive in me the old leaven of thoſe humours, and having nothing to ſtruggle with, but the new ones, which were occaſioned by this ſmall addition to my diet, I oppoſed and conquered my indiſpoſition, notwithſtanding its force.

From this ſickneſs, and my recovery from it, we may diſcern, what an influence a regimen has over us, which preſerved me from death; and what a power repletion has which in ſo few days brought me to the laſt extremity. 'Tis probable, that order being neceſſary for the conſervation of the univerſe, and our bodily life being nothing elſe but a harmony and perfect agreement between the elementary qualities of which our bodies are compoſed, we cannot live long in a diſorderly courſe of life, of which nothing but corruption can poſſibly come. [16]

Order indeed is ſo exceeding beneficial, that it cannot be too ſtrictly obſerved in every thing. It is by the means of this that we arrive to the perfection of arts and an eaſy accompliſhment in the ſciences. It renders armies victorious, keeps up the civil policy of cities, and concord in families: It renders whole nations flouriſhing; in a word, it is the ſupport and preſerver both of the civil and natural life, and the beſt remedy that can be applied to all evils, whether public or private.

When a diſinterested phyſician waits upon a patient, let him remember to recommend to him his diet, and eſpecially a regimen therein, in order to his recovery. This is certain, that if all men would live regularly and frugally, there would be ſo few ſick perſons, that there would hardly be any occaſions for remedies; every one would become his own *phyſician*, and would be convinced that he never met with a better. It would be to little purpoſe to ſtudy the conſtitution of other men; every one, if he would but apply himſelf to it, would always be better acquainted with his own, than with that of another; every one would be capable of making thoſe experiments for himſelf, which another could not do for him, and would be the beſt judge of the ſtrength of his own ſtomach, and the food which is agreeable thereto; for, in one word, it is next to impoſſible to know exactly the conſtitution of another, the conſtitutions of men being as different from one another, as their complexion. Who now, for inſtance, would imagine that old wine ſhould be hurtful, and new wine wholſome to me? That things which are looked upon to be naught by nature ſhould refreſh and ſtrengthen me? What *phyſician* could have obſerved in me thoſe effects, ſo uncommon in moſt bodies, and ſo contrary to the notions of mankind, when I myſelf was at no ſmall pains in diſcovering the cauſes thereof, after abundance of trials which prove the difference of men's conſtitutions?

Since no man, therefore, can have a better phyſician than himſelf, nor a more ſovereign antidote than a regimen, every one ought to follow my example; that is, to ſtudy his own conſtitution, and to regulate his life according to the rules of right reaſon. [17]

I own, indeed, that a phyſician may be ſometimes neceſſary; ſince there are ſome diſtempers which all human prudence cannot provide againſt. There happen ſome unavoidable accidents, which ſeize us after ſuch a manner, as to deprive our judgment of the liberty it ought to have to be a comfort to us. It it [*sic*] fooliſhneſs then wholly to rely upon nature, it muſt have a ſupply, and recourſe muſt be had to ſome one or other for it.

If the preſence of a *friend* who comes *to viſit a ſick perſon*, and to teſtify the concern he has for his illneſs, be a comfort and refreſhment to him, there is greater reaſon to believe, that the viſit of a phyſician muſt needs be more agreeable, being a friend upon whoſe advice and care we may depend for a ſpeedy recovery of our health; but for the maintaining of that health, there needs no other ſupport but a ſober and regular life. It is a ſpecifick and natural medicine, which preſerves the man, how tender ſoever his conſtitution be, and prolongs his life to above a hundred years, ſpares him the pain of a violent death, ſends him quietly out of the world, when the radical moiſture is quite ſpent, and which, in ſhort, has all the properties that are fancied to be in *Aurum Potabile*, and the *Elixir*, which a great many perſons have ſought after in vain.

But alas! moſt men ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by the charms of a voluptuous life. They have not courage enough to deny their appetites; and being over-perſuaded by their prejudices ſo far, as to think they cannot prevent the gratification of them, without abridging too much of their pleaſures, they form ſyſtems whereby to perſuade themſelves, that it is more eligible to live ten years leſs, than to be upon the reſtraint, and deprived of whatever may gratify the cravings of their appetites.

Alas! They know not the value of ten years healthful life in an age, when a man may enjoy the full uſe of his reaſon, and make an advantage of all his experiences: In an age wherein a man may appear to be truly ſuch by his wiſdom and conduct; laſtly, in a time wherein he is in a condition of reaping the fruits of his ſtudies and labours.

To inſtance only in the Sciences; it is certain, that the [18] beſt books which we have extant, were compoſed in thoſe laſt ten years which the intemperate deſpiſe; and that men's minds growing to perfection, proportionably as their bodies grow old, arts and ſciences would have loſt a great deal of their perfection, if all the great men who were profeſſors of that, had lived ten years ſhorter than they did. For my part, I think it proper to keep the fatal day of my death as far off as I can. If this had not been my reſolution, I ſhould not have finiſhed ſeveral pieces, which will be both pleaſing and inſtructing to thoſe who come after me.

The ſenſualiſts further object that it is impoſſible to live a regular life. To this I reply; that *Galen*, who was ſo great a man, made choice of it, and adviſed others to do the ſame, as being the beſt courſe they could take. *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Iſocrates*, and a great many famous men of paſt ages embraced it; and in our time, Pope *Paul Farneze*, Cardinal *Bembo*, and two of our Doges, *Lando* and *Dorato*, have practiced it, and thereby arrived to an extreme old age. I might inſtance in others of a meaner extract; but, having followed this rule myſelf, I think I cannot produce a more convincing proof of its being practicable, and that the greateſt trouble to be met with therein, is the firſt reſolving and entring upon ſuch a courſe of life.

You will tell me that *Plato*, as ſober a man as he was, yet affirmed, that a man devoted to the adminiſtration of the government in public affairs, can hardly lead an exact and regular life, being often obliged in the ſervice of the ſtate, to be expoſed to the badneſs of weather, to the fatigues of travelling, and to eat whatever he can meet with. This cannot be denied; but then I maintain, that theſe things will never haſten a man's death provided, he that is in this poſt accuſtoms himſelf to a frugal way of living, There is no man, in what condition ſoever he is, but may prevent his over-eating; and cure himſelf of thoſe diſtempers that are cauſed by repletion. They who have the charge of public affairs committed to their truſt, are more obliged to it than any others: Where there is no glory to be got for their country, they ought not to ſacrifice themſelves. They ſhould preſerve themſelves to ſerve it; and [19] if they purſue my method, it is certain they would ward off the diſtempers which heat and cold, and fatigues might bring upon them; or ſhould they be diſturbed with them it would be but very lightly.

It may likewiſe be objected, that if one who is well, is dieted like one that is ſick, he will be at a loſs about the choice of his diet, when any diſtemper comes upon him. To this I ſay, that nature, which preſerves all beings as far as poſſible, teaches us how we ought to govern ourſelves in ſuch a caſe. It begins by depriving us altogether of our appetites, that we can eat little or nothing at all. At that time, whether the ſick perſon has been ſober or intemperate, no other food ought to be made uſe of, but ſuch as is proper for the condition wherein he is;

ſuch as broth, jellies, cordials, barley-water, &c. When his recovery will permit him to make uſe of a more ſolid nouriſhment, he muſt take leſs than he was uſed to before his ſickneſs, and notwithſtanding the eagerness of his appetite, he muſt take care of his ſtomach, till he has a perfect cure. Should he do otherwiſe he would overburden nature, and infallibly relapſe into the danger from whence he eſcaped. But notwithſtanding this, I dare aver, that he who leads a ſober and regular life, will hardly ever be ſick; or if he is, it will be but ſeldom, and for a ſhort time. This way of living preſerves us from thoſe humours which occaſion our infirmities, and by conſequence heals us of all thoſe diſtempers which they engender. The defect of the cauſe does phyſically prevent the production of the effect; and the effect cannot be dangerous and violent, when the cauſe itſelf is but ſlight and weak.

Since then ſobriety lays a reſtraint upon our paſſions, preſerves our health, and is both wholeſome and beneficial to us, ought it not to be followed and embraced by all men? Self love, if well underſtood, adviſes us to it: it is neither impoſſible nor difficult; and the method I take, ought to diſcourage nobody from undertaking it. For I do not pretend to perſuade every-body to eat as little as I do, or to debar themſelves from the uſe of a great many things from which I refrain, I eat but little, becauſe my ſtomach [20] is nice, and I abſtain from certain diſhes becauſe they are prejudicial to me. They who are not offended by them, are not obliged to refrain from them, but are allowed the uſe of them; only they ought to abſtain from eating too much, even of that which agrees with them, becauſe it would be prejudicial to them, ſince an over-charged ſtomach can not ſo eaſily digeſt it. In ſhort, he that is offended at nothing, has no occaſion of enquiring into the quality of his diet, he ought only to be cautious of the quantity thereof.

It ſignifies nothing to tell me, that there are ſeveral who deny themſelves nothing, do yet live as long without infirmities, as they who are ſober. This is but rare, uncertain, hazardous, and in a manner miraculous. The inſtances of this nature, do not at all juſtify the conduct of thoſe perſons, who reckon it an extraordinary happineſs, and are commonly the betrayers of their good conſtitution. It is more certain, that an infirm old man will live longer by obſerving a strict regimen, than a young, vigorous, and healthful man will, that gives the looſe to his appetite.

However, this is certain, that a good conſtitution, with the ſupport of a regular life, will carry a man farther than a weak one, though managed with an equal degree of care. God and nature may form bodies ſo ſtrong and robuſt, as to be proof againſt all that is contrary to us; as I have obſerved at *Venice*, the procurator, *Thomas Materent*, and at *Padua* the Chevalier *Antonio Capo di Vacca*; but among a thouſand one ſhall hardly meet with the like. All others who are for a long and healthful life, who would die without an agony, and only by a pure diſſolution, who would, laſtly, enjoy the advantages of a happy old age, will never come to what they aim at, w[i]thout ſobriety.

It is temperance alone which ſupports our conſtitution, without any alteration; it creates nothing but ſweet and wholeſome humours, ſending up no vapours to the brain, leave the mind the perfect uſe of the organs, and are no hindrance from raiſing its contemplation from the wonders of the world, to the conſideration of the power of its Creator. A man can be never the better for thoſe reflec- [21] tions, when his head is full of the vapours of wine and meat. But when once theſe fumes are gone, his underſtanding is clear, he obſerves and diſcerns a thouſand agreeable things, which he would not have known or comprehended in another State. He can then diſcern the falſity of thoſe pleaſures, which voluptuouſneſs promiſes, the real goods with which virtue loads us, and the unhappineſs of thoſe whom a fatal deluſion renders ſlaves to their paſſions.

The three moſt dangerous, are, the pleaſure of the taſte, the hunting after honours, and the poſſeſſion of riches: theſe deſires increaſe with the age of old men; who having always led a diſorderly life, have ſuffered their luſts to take root in their youth and manhood. A wiſe man does not ſtay ſo long before he corrects them; he declares betimes a war againſt his paſſions, of which he does not obtain the maſtery till after ſeveral Struggles; and then virtue in its turn triumphs, and crowns the man with the bleſſings of heaven, and the eſteem of all the world.

Is he ready to pay the tribute that is due to nature? Full of acknowledgements for the favours already received from God, he throws himſelf into the arms of his future mercy. He is not afraid of thoſe everlaſting puniſhments, which they deſerve, who by their intemperance offer violence to their own lives. He dies without complaining, becauſe he was not to live for ever; and his reaſon ſweetens the bitterneſs of this fatality. In a word, he leaves the world generouſly, when in a long tract of happy years he has had time enough to enjoy his virtue and reputation; and conſiders, that not one in a thouſand, who have lived otherwiſe than he has done, has arrived to ſuch an age.

He is comforted the more, upon conſidering, that this ſeparation will not be violent, painful or feveriſh. His end is calm, and he expires like a lamp when the oil is ſpent, no delirium, no convulſions attending him: and ſo he paſſes from this corruptible life, to that whoſe eternal happineſs is the reward of the virtuous. [22]

O happy, bleſſed, and regular life! how worthy art thou of our eſteem; and how doſt thou deſerve to be prefer'd before thy contrary? We need only to reflect upon the different effects of both, to be ſenſible of the advantages that attend thee; tho' thy name alone is ſufficient to attract that eſteem which thou deſerveſt.

Having thus given the reaſons, which made me abandon an intemperate, and take up with a ſober life, as alſo the method I obſerved in it, and the benefit which I reaped from it, and the advantage which others may receive from the practice thereof; I ſhall now direct my diſcourſe to thoſe, who ſuppoſe it to be no benefit to grow old; becauſe they fancy, that when a man is paſt ſeventy, his life is nothing but weakneſs, infirmity and miſery. In the firſt place, I can aſſure them, that they are mightily miſtaken; and that I find myſelf, as old as I am, (which is much beyond what they ſpeak of) to be in the moſt pleaſant and delightſome ſtage of life.

To prove that I have reaſon for what I ſay, they need only enquire how I ſpend my time, what are my uſual pleaſures and buſineſs; and to hear the teſtimony of all thoſe that know me. They unanimouſly teſtify, that the life I lead, is not a dead and languiſhing life, but as happy a one as can be wiſhed for in this world.

They will tell you, that I am ſtill ſo ſtrong at fourſcore and three, as to mount a horſe without any help: That I can not only go down ſtairs without any concern, but likewiſe deſcend a hill all on foot: That I am always merry, always pleaſed, always in humour; maintaining a happy peace in my own mind, the ſweetneſs and ſerenity whereof appear at all times in my countenance.

Beſides, they know that it is in my power to paſs away the time very pleaſantly; having nothing to hinder me from taſting all the pleaſures of an agreeable ſociety, with ſeveral perſons of parts and worth. When I am willing to be alone, I read good books, and ſometimes fall to writing; ſeeking always an occaſion of being uſeful to the public, and doing ſervice to private perſons, as far as poſſible. I do all this without the leaſt trouble; and in ſuch times as I ſet apart for theſe employments. [23]

I dwell in a houſe, which beſides its being ſituated in the pleaſanteſt part of *Padua*, may be looked upon as the moſt convenient and moſt agreeable manſion in that city. I there make me apartments proper for the winter and ſummer, which ſerve as a ſhelter to defend me from the extreme heat of the one, and the rigid coldneſs of the other. I walk out in my gardens, along my canals and walks;—where I always meet with ſome little thing or other to do, which at the ſame time, employs and diverts me.

I ſpend the months of *April*, *May*, *September*, and *October*, at my country-houſe, which is the fineſt ſituation imaginable: The air of it is good, the avenues neat, the gardens magnificent, the waters clear and plentiful; and this ſeat may well paſs for an inchanted palace. When I am there, I ſometimes divert myſelf with a ſport that agrees moſt with my age; viz. in going out with a ſetting-dog, or with Terriers.

Sometimes I take a walk to my *villa*, all whoſe ſtreets terminate at a large ſquare; in the midſt of which is a pretty neat church, and large enough for the bigneſs of the pariſh.

Through this *villa* runs a rivulet; and the country about is enriched with fruitful and well cultivated fields; having at preſent a conſiderable number of inhabitants. This was not ſo, anciently: it was a marſhy place, and the air ſo bad, that it was more proper for frogs and toads, then for men to dwell in. I thought it adviſable to drain the marſh-lands; ſo that being dry, the air became more wholeſome. Several families have ſettled there, and rendered the place very populous; where, I may ſay, that I have dedicated to the Lord a church, altars, and hearts to worſhip him: which reflection is a great comfort to me, as often as I make it.

Sometimes I pay a viſit to my friends of the neighbouring towns, who procure me an acquaintance with the ingenious men of the place. I diſcourſe with them about architecture, painting, ſculpture, mathematicks, and agriculture; ſciences for which I had all my life long a great fondneſs, and the rather, becauſe they were very much in eſteem in my time. [24]

I ſaw with curioſity the new pieces of workmanſhip;—and it was a new pleaſure to me, to take a ſecond view of thoſe which I had already ſeen; and I am always learning ſomething that I am pleaſed to know.

I viſit public buildings, palaces, gardens, antiquities, ſquares, churches, and fortifications; paſſing by no place that may gratify my curioſity, or give me any new light into things.

That which charmed me moſt in the little journeys I took, was the various proſpects of places through which I went: the plains, the hills, the rivulets, the caſtles and the villages, were as ſo many objects that offered themſelves with pleaſure to my ſight, and afforded a delightful view.

In ſhort, the pleaſures I take, are not imperfect upon the account of the weakneſs of my organs: I ſee and hear as well as ever I did in my life: all my ſenſes are as free and as perfect as ever; eſpecially my taſte, which is better with that little which I eat at preſent, than when I was a ſlave to my appetite.

Changing of beds is no hindrance to my repoſe: I ſleep very ſoundly; and if I dream, my dreams are pleaſant.

It is with a great deal of ſatisfaction, that I ſee the end of a work of ſuch importance to this ſtate, which has rendered ſo many places fertile, that before were uncultivated and uſeleſs; a thing I never expected to have ſeen compleated, conſidering how many ſtates are loth to begin, and weary of carrying on, undertakings of ſo vaſt a charge, and ſo difficult to be performed. I was upon the places for two months together, with the commiſſaries that had the overſight of theſe works; and this, during the greateſt heat of ſummer; and yet, thanks to my regimen, the only preſerver of my health, neither the unwholſome air of the fens, nor the fatigue, did me any injury.

Such as theſe are the employments and diverſions of my old age; which is, bleſſed be God, free from thoſe diſturbances of mind, and infirmities of body under which ſo many poor rheumatick and crazy old men, as well as miſerable young men labour. [25]

If in diſcourſing on ſuch a ſerious ſubject as this, it be allowable to ſpeak of trifles, I might tell you that at the age of fourſcore and three, a ſober life had preſerved me in that ſprightlineſs of thought, and gaiety of humour, as to be able to compoſe a play for the uſe of the ſtage, which was diverting, without ſhocking the audience. Comedy is uſually the product of youth, as tragedy is of old age. The latter, by the gravity of its compoſure, ſuiting to riper years, whilſt the former, by its facetiouſneſs, is more agreeable to thoſe that are young. If antiquity has ſo far commended and admired a *Greek* poet, for having in the ſeventy-third year of his age, compoſed a tragedy, which is a grave and ſerious poem, why ſhould I be leſs admired, and happy in having compoſed a comedy, which is diverting, at my age? For this I am ſure of, that though that author was ten years younger than I am, yet he had not more health, nor a briſker genius.

To conclude, as an addition to my happineſs, I ſee myſelf as it were immortalized, and born again by the great number of my deſcendants. I meet with not only two or three when I come home, but eleven grand children, the eldeſt of which is eighteen, and the youngeſt two years old, all born of the ſame father, and the ſame mother; all healthful, of good parts, and of promiſing hopes. I take a delight in playing with the youngſters; children between three and five years of age, being generally very merry and diverting company. Thoſe who are older, entertain me better: I often make them ſing and play upon muſical inſtruments, and ſometimes I join in conſort with them.

Call you this an infirm and crazy old age, as they pretend, who ſay, that a man is but half alive after he is ſeventy? They may believe me if they pleaſe, but in reality I would not change my age and life, for the moſt flouriſhing youth, which lays no reſtraints upon its ſenſes, being ſure that it is ſubject to a great many diſtempers, which may occaſion death.

I remember all the follies that I was guilty of in my young days, and am perfectly ſenſible of the danger and imprudence of them. I know with what violence young [26] perſons are carried away by their paſſions, and how much they preſume upon their ſtrength, but would think they had taken a ſure leaſe of their life; they expoſe it raſhly, as if it were chargeable to them, and they run headlong into whatſoever their concupiſcence prompts them to.—They muſt gratify their appetites, whatever it coſts them, without perceiving that they feed thoſe ill humours which will render their lives miſerable, and haſten the hour of their death.

Of theſe two, the one is cruel, the other dreadful and inſupportable by all ſenſual men, eſpecially young people, who ſuppoſe they have a better title to life than others; and libertines, who are not ſo blind as to flatter themselves, that God will permit their ſin to go unpuniſhed.

As for my part, bleſſed be God, I find myſelf freed from thoſe juſt fears which cannot but alarm them, whenever they are capable of reflections. For, in the firſt place, I am certain I ſhall not fall ſick, ſince I take care, by a regular diet, to ward off infirmities, And then, ſecondly, the time of my death approaching, teaches me to ſubmit quietly to that which is inevitable, and from which no man could ever ſecure himſelf. It is folly to be afraid of that which cannot be avoided; but I hope, whenever the time comes, the merits of Jeſus Chriſt will be available to me; though I am ſenſible that I muſt die, yet I am perſuaded it will be a long time e'er I ſhall, ſince this diſſolution cannot happen, but by the conſumption of the radical moiſture which is exhauſted by age.

The regular life which I lead, has left death this only way of deſtroying me. The humours of my body can do me no more injury, than the elementary qualities which prevailed in my nature ever ſince my birth. I am not ſo ſtupid as not to perceive, that having had a beginning, I muſt of neceſſity have an end; but ſince we muſt die, doubtleſs that death is attended with leſs terror, which happens by the natural diſſolution of the parts of which we are compoſed. Nature herſelf having tied the bands of our life, can likewiſe untie them again, without the leaſt pain, and can ſtay longer before it executes that office, than ſickneſſes [27] generally do, which with violence break the bands of our life aſunder, and which cannot happen to us, but by foreign cauſes; ſince nothing is more contrary to nature, than that which tends to our deſtruction.

When a man draws near his end, he perceives his ſtrength to abate by degrees: The organs, and all the faculties grow weak; he can no longer walk, and can hardly ſpeak: his judgment and memory fail him: he becomes blind, deaf, and bowed together; in fine, his whole frame is worn out. Bleſſed be God, I am not as yet in that condition. On the contrary, I promiſe myſelf, that my ſoul finds itſelf ſo well in my body, where ſhe meets with nothing but peace, unity and concord, (ſpite of all the different qualities of the humours which compoſe us, and the various inclinations that are produced by the ſenſes) that ſhe will be under no temptation to wiſh a ſpeedy ſeparation, and that it will be a long time before ſhe can be brought to a reſolution.

To conclude, I am aſſured that I ſhall ſtill live ſeveral years in health, and that I ſhall long enjoy the pleaſure of being in the world, which is certainly very comfortable, when a man knows how to make a right uſe of it. I hope to reap a greater ſatisfaction from hence in the other life, and I ſhall lie under obligations to the virtues of the regimen, to which I am indebted for the victory I have obtained over my paſſions. Nor is there any man but may hope for the ſame happineſs, if he would live as I have done.

A ſober life therefore being ſo neceſſary, its name ſo commendable, the enjoyment of it ſo beneficial, nothing remains after what has been ſaid, but to conjure all men, as they love themſelves to make the beſt of life, and lay in a ſtock of that which being the moſt precious of all, deſerves to be ſought after, if we have it not, and to be preſerved if we have it.

This divine ſobriety, is always pleaſing to God, and always the friend of nature; ſhe is the daughter of reaſon, the ſiſter of all other virtues, the companion of Temperance; always cheerful, always modeſt, always [28] wiſe and regular in her operations. She is the root of health, of induſtry, and of whatever becomes a great ſoul to be employed about. She has the laws of God and nature, both to juſtify and enforce her. When ſhe reigns, repletion, diſorders, evil habits, ſuperfluous humours, fevers, aches, and the fears of death, do not diſreliſh or embitter our pleaſures.

The happineſs of it ſhould invite us, the comlineſs of it ſhould allure us to embrace it. She offers to us the duration of our mortal being: She is the faithful guardian of the life of man, whether he be rich or poor, young or old, of what ſex ſoever. She teaches the rich not to abuſe his wealth, the poor to bear patiently the inconveniencies of his State: She teaches the man wiſdom, the woman chaſtity; old men the ſecret of putting off their death, and young men the means of enjoying a long life. She files the ruſt off our ſenſes, renders the body vigorous, the mind clear, the ſoul lovely; gives us, a happy memory, free motions, and juſt actions.

O ſacred and healthful ſobriety! the powerful ſupport of our nature, the true phyſick of body and mind. How ought men to praiſe thee, and acknowledge thy benefits, ſince thou furniſhes them with the means of attaining heaven, and of preſerving life and health here upon earth?

But not deſigning to enlarge any farther in commendation of this virtue, I ſhall conclude, keeping within the bounds of ſobriety on this ſubject; not because I have ſaid enough of it but that I may ſay more of it another time.[29]

CHAP. II.

THE METHOD OF CORRECTING A BAD CONSTITUTION.

SEVERAL perſons, whoſe weak conſtitutions required great care in the management of them, having been well ſatisfied with what I have written concerning ſobriety, the experience which they have had of the uſefulneſs of my councils, & the acknowledgments which they have made thereof; encourage me to take up my pen again, that I may convince thoſe, who meet with no inconvenience from intemperance, that they are in the wrong in relying ſo much on the ſtrength of their conſtitution.

Let it be ever ſo well compoſed yet it holds not good but to ſuch an age. Theſe perſons ſeldom arrive to ſixty, but they decay all of a ſudden and perceive themſelves loaded with a complication of diſtempers. Some are gouty, dropſical, and rheumatical: Others are ſubject to cholicks, the ſtone and piles; laſtly, to abundance of diſtempers, which would never have happened to them, if they had been ſo wiſe as to have taken care of themſelves in their youth. If they die infirm at fourſcore years of age, they might have lived in health to an hundred, and ſo have run out the term of life, which nature has left open to all men.

It is to be ſuppoſed that this common parent wiſhes that all her children might live at leaſt a century; and ſince ſome among them have lived to a longer date, why ſhould not others have a right of expecting the ſame advantage.

I was born very cholerick and haſty; I flew out into a paſſion for the leaſt trifle; I huffed all mankind, and was ſo intolerable, that a great many perſons of repute avoided my company. I apprehended the injury which I did myſelf; I knew that anger is a real frenzy: that it diſturbs our judgment, that it tranſports us beyond ourſelves, and that the difference between a paſſionate and a mad man, is only this, that the latter has loſt his reaſon for ever, and the former [30] only deprived of it by fits. A ſober life cured me of this frenzy; by its aſſiſtance I became ſo moderate, and ſo much a maſter of my paſſion, that no body could perceive that it was born with me.

A man may likewiſe with reaſon, and a regular life, correct a bad conſtitution; and notwithſtanding the tenderneſs thereof, may live a long time in good health. I ſhould never have ſeen forty years, had I followed all my inclinations, and yet I am in the eighty ſixth year of my age. If the long and dangerous diſtempers which I had in my youth, had not conſumed a great deal of the radical moiſture, the loſs of which is irreparable, I might have promiſed myſelf to have lived a compleat century. But without flattering myſelf, I find it to be a great matter to have arrived to forty ſix years more than I ever expected, and that in my old age my conſtitution is ſtill ſo good, that not only my teeth, my voice, my memory, and my heart, are in as good a condition, as ever they were in the briſkeſt days of my youth; but likewiſe my judgement has loſt nothing of its clearneſs and force.

I am of the opinion, that this proceeds from the abridgment I make of my food, proportionably to my growing into years. Experience, which tells us, that infants have a greater appetite, and are more often hungry, than grown men, ought likewiſe to teach us, that in old age we have leſs need of nouriſhment, then in the beginning of our life. A man who is very old, can hardly eat, becauſe he can ſcarce digeſt what he eats; a little ſerves his turn, and the yolk of an egg is a good meal to him. I ſhall be ſatisfied therewith to the end of my days, hoping, by this conduct, neither to die with violence, nor with pain, not queſtioning but that they who would imitate me, will meet with as eaſy an exit, ſince we are all of the ſame *ſpecies*, and made up of the ſame materials.

Since nothing then is more advantageous for a man upon earth, than to live long; he is obliged to preſerve his health as far as poſſible, and this he cannot do without ſobriety. It is true, indeed, that there are ſeveral who [31] eat and drink plentifully and yet live to an hundered years of age. It is by their example that others flatter themſelves with the hopes of attaining to the ſame age, without any occaſion of laying a reſtraint upon themſelves. But they are in the wrong upon theſe two accounts: Firſt, becauſe there is hardly one in a thouſand, that has ſo ſtrong a conſtitution. Secondly, becauſe ſuch men do generally end their lives by ſuch diſtempers, as put them into great agonies by dying, which would never happen to thoſe who have the ſame government of themſelves that I have. A man runs the risque of not attaining to fifty years of age, for not daring to undertake a regular courſe of life; which is no impoſſible thing, ſince 'tis what I, and ſeveral others have practiſed, and do practiſe— And a man becomes inſenſibly a murderer of himſelf; becauſe he cannot be perſuaded, that notwithſtanding the falſe charms of a voluptuous life, a wiſe man ought not to look upon it as any hardſhip, to put in practice what his reaſon adviſes him.

Reaſon, if we harken to it, will tell us, that a good regimen is neceſſary for the prolonging of our days; and that it conſiſts in two things: Firſt, in taking care of the quality; and ſecondly, of the quantity ſo as to eat and drink nothing that offends the ſtomach, nor any more than what we can eaſily digeſt. Our experience ought to be our guide in theſe two principles, when we are arrived to forty, fifty or threeſcore years of age.

He who puts in practice that knowledge which he has of what is good for him, and goes on in a frugal way of living, keeps the humours in a juſt temperature, and prevents them from being altered; though he ſuffer heat and cold, though he be fatigued, though his ſleep be broke; provided there be no exceſs in any of them. This being ſo; what an obligation does a man lie under of living ſoberly? And ought he not to free himſelf from the fears of ſinking under the leaſt imtemperature of the air, and under the leaſt fatigue, which make us ſick upon every ſlight occaſion?

'Tis true, indeed, the moſt ſober may ſometimes be indiſpoſed, when they are unavoidably obliged to tranſgreſs [32] the rules which they have been uſed to obſerve: But then, they are certain, that their indiſpoſition will not laſt above two or three days at moſt; nor can they fall into a fever. Warineſs and faintneſs are eaſily remedied by reſt and good diet.

There are ſome who feed high, and maintain, whatſoever they eat is ſo little a diſturbance to them, that they cannot perceive in what part of their body their ſtomach lies: But I aver, that they do not ſpeak as they think; nor is it natural. It is impoſſible, that any created being ſhould be of ſo perfect a compoſition, as that neither heat or cold, dry nor moiſt, ſhould have any influence over it; and that the variety of food which they make uſe of, of different qualities, ſhould be equally agreeable to them. Thoſe men cannot but acknowledge, that they are ſometimes out of order: If it is not owing to a ſenſible indigeſtion, yet they are troubled with head-achs, want of ſleep, and fevers; of which they are cured by a diet, and taking ſuch medicines as are proper for evacuation. It is therefore certain, that their diſtempers proceed from repletion, or from their having eat or drank ſomething which did not agree with their ſtomachs.

Moſt old people excuſe their high feeding, by ſaying, that it is neceſſary for them to eat a great deal, to keep up their natural heat, which diminiſhes proportionably as they grow in years; and to create an appetite, it is requiſite to find out proper ſauces, and to eat whatever they have a fancy for; and that without thus humouring their palates, they ſhould be ſoon in their graves. To this I reply, that nature, for the preſervation of a man in years, has ſo compoſed him, that he may live with a little food; that his ſtomach cannot digeſt a great quantity; and that he has no need of being afraid of dying for want of eating, ſince when he is ſick, he is forced to have recourſe to a regular ſort of diet, which is the firſt and main thing preſcribed him by his phyſicians. Laſtly, that if this remedy is of ſuch efficacy, as to ſnatch us out of the arms of death, it is a miſtake to ſuppoſe, that a man may not, by eating a little more than he does when he is ſick, live a long time without ever being ſick. [33]

Others had rather be diſturbed twice or thrice a year with the gout, the *Sciatica*, and other epidemical diſtempers, than to be always put to the torment and mortification of laying a reſtraint upon their appetites; being ſure, that when they are indiſpoſed, a regular diet will be an infallible remedy and cure. But let them be informed by me, that as they grow up in years, their natural heat abates: That a regular diet, deſpiſed as a precaution, and only looked upon as phyſic, cannot always have the ſame effect nor force to draw off the crudities, and repair the diſorders, which are cauſed by repletion; and laſtly, that they run the hazard of being cheated, by their hope and their intemperance.

Others ſay, that it is more eligible to feed high, and enjoy themſelves, though a man lives the leſs while. It is no ſurprizing matter, that fools and madmen ſhould contemn and deſpiſe life; the world would be no loſer,—whenever they go out of it: but it is a conſiderable loſs, when wiſe, virtuous, and holy men drop into the grave.—If one of them were a biſhop, he might have been an archbiſhop, in growing older: if he were in ſome conſiderable poſt in the ſtate, he might have arrived to the higheſt: if he were learned, or excelled in any art, he would have been more excellent, and done more honour to his country and himſelf.

Others there are, who perceiving themſelves to grow old, though their ſtomach becomes leſs capable of digeſting well every day than others, yet will not, upon that account, abate any thing of their diet. They only abridge themſelves in the number of their meals; and becauſe they find two or three times a day is troubleſome, they think their health is ſufficiently provided for, by making only one meal; that ſo the time between one repaſt and another, may (as they say) facilitate the digeſtion of thoſe aliments, which they might have taken at twice: for this reaſon they eat at this one meal ſo much, that their ſtomach is overcharged, and out of order, and converts the ſuperfluities of its nouriſhment into bad humours, which engender diſeaſes and death. I never knew a man that [34] lived long by this conduct. Theſe men would doubtleſs have prolonged their days, had they abridged the quantity of their ordinary food, proportionably as they grew in years, and had they eaten a great deal leſs, and a little oftener.

Some again are of opinion, that ſobriety may indeed preſerve a man in health, but does not prolong his life: to this we ſay, that there have been perſons in paſt ages, who have prolonged their lives by this means; and ſome there are at preſent, who ſtill do: it ſhortens our days, as the infirmities contracted by repletion do. A man of an ordinary reach may perceive, that if he deſires to live long—it is better to be well than ſick; and that, conſequently, temperance contributes more to a long life, than an exceſſive feeding.

Whatſoever the ſenſualiſts may ſay, temperance is of infinite benefit to mankind: to it he owes his preſervation—it baniſhes from his mind the diſmal apprehenſion of dying: it is by this means that he becomes wiſe, and arrives to an age, wherein reaſon and experience furniſh him with aſſiſtance, to free himſelf from the tyranny of his paſſions, which have lorded it over him for almoſt the whole courſe of his life. O ſacred and beneficent temperance! how-much am I obliged to thee, for ſeeing the time which has ſo many charms, when one follows thy maxims, and obſerves thoſe rules which thou doſt preſcribe? When I denyed my ſenſes nothing, I did not taſte ſuch pure and refined pleaſures as I now enjoy. They were then ſo troubleſome, and mixed with pains, that even in the height of thoſe enjoyments, the bitterneſs exceeded the ſweetneſs of them.

O happy ſtate of life! which, beſides other bleſſings with which thou favouriſt an old man, doſt preſerve his ſtomach in ſo perfect a tone, as to make him reliſh a piece of dry bread, better than the voluptuous do all their dainty diſhes. The appetite which thou giveſt us for bread, is juſt and reaſonable; ſince it is the moſt proper food for mankind, when attended with a deſire of eating. A ſober life is never without ſuch an appetite. So that by eating a little, my ſtomach is often craving after the manna;— [35] which I ſometimes reliſh with ſo much pleaſure, that I ſhould think I treſpaſs upon the duty of temperance, did I not know that one muſt eat it to ſupport life; and that one cannot make uſe of a plainer, and a more natural diet.

My ſpirits are not injured by what I eat; they are only revived and ſupported by it. I always find myſelf in an even temper, always chearful; and more ſo after, than before meals. I uſe myſelf, preſently upon riſing from table, to write or ſtudy, and never find, that this application of mind, after eating is prejudicial to me: for I am equally capable at all times of doing it, and never perceive myſelf drowzy, as a great many people do. The reaſon of this is, becauſe the little I eat is not ſufficient to ſend up the fumes from the ſtomach to the head, which fill the brain, and render it incapable of performing its functions.

What I eat, is as follows, viz. bread, ſoup, new-laid eggs, veal, kid, mutton, patridges, pullets, and pigeons. Among the ſea-fiſh, I chuſe goldenis, and of the river-fiſh, the pike. All theſe aliments are proper for old men;—who, if they be *wiſe for themſelves*, would be contented with theſe, and ſeek for no other.

A poor old man, who has not wherewith to purchaſe all theſe ſhould be ſatisfied with bread, broth and eggs; and there is no man, how poor ſoever he be, that can ſtand in want of this food, unleſs they be down right beggars, reduced to live upon alms, of whom I do not pretend to ſay any thing. The reaſon of their being ſo miſerable in their old age, is because they were idle and lazy when they were young; it were better for them to die than to live, for they are a burthen to the world. But this we ſay, that another man in low circumſtances, who has only bread, broth, and eggs, ought not to eat much of them at a time, but ſo to regulate himself, with reſpect to the quantity of his diet, as that he may not die but by a mere diſſolution. For it is not to be ſuppoſed that a ſtab, or the like, is the only violent death; fevers, and a great many other diſtempers, of which one dies in bed, are to be counted as ſuch, being cauſed by thoſe humours, againſt which nature would not ſtruggle, if they were natural. [36]

What difference then is there, between a ſober and an intemperate life? The one ſhortens, the other prolongs our days, and makes us enjoy a perfect health. How many of my relations and friends has intemperance carried off, who would have been ſtill alive, had they followed my counſels? But it has not been able to deſtroy me, as it has ſo many others; and becauſe I had the power of reſiſting its charms, I am ſtill in the land of the living, and am arrived to a good old age.

If I had not abandoned thee, thou infamous ſource of corruption, I ſhould never have had the pleaſure of ſeeing eleven of my grand children, all of them witty and promiſing; nor beheld the ornaments which I have made to my houſes and gardens. But thou, O cruel intemperance! doſt often put an end to the days of thy ſlaves, before they could have finiſhed what they begun. They dare not undertake any thing that requires time to compleat it; and ſhould they be ſo happy, as to ſee their works brought to perfection, yet they do not long enjoy the fruits of their labours. But to ſhew what thou really art, viz. a deadly poiſon, the moſt dangerous enemy of mankind, and wiſhing that all men may conceive a juſt abhorrence for thee, I promiſe myſelf that my eleven grand-children will declare war againſt thee, and following my example, will convince all mankind of the abuſe of thy cravings, and of the uſefulneſs of a regular courſe of life.

I cannot underſtand how it comes to paſs that ſo many people, otherwiſe prudent and rational, cannot reſolve upon laying a reſtraint upon their inſatiable appetites, at fifty or three ſcore years of age, or at leaſt when they begin to feel the infirmities of old age coming upon them. They might rid themſelves of them by a ſtrict diet, and become incurable, becauſe they will not obſerve a regimen. I do not wonder ſo much that young people are ſo hardly bro't to ſuch a reſolution; they are not capable enough of reflecting, and their judgment is not ſolid enough to reſiſt the charms of ſenſe: But at fifty, a man ought to be governed by his reaſon; which would convince us, if we would harken to it, that to gratify all our appetites, without [37] any rule or meaſure, is the way to become infirm, and to die young. Nor does the pleaſure of taſte laſt long; it hardly begins, but 'tis gone and paſt: the more one eats, the more one may; and the diſtempers which it brings along with it, laſts us to our graves. Now ſhould not a ſober man be very well ſatisfied, when he is at table, upon the aſſurance, that as often as he riſes from it, what he eats will do him no harm?

I was willing to add this ſupplement to my treatiſe; it is ſhort and runs upon other arguments: The reaſon of my caſting them into two chapters, is becauſe the reader will be better pleaſed to peruſe them at twice, than at once. I wiſh all the world were ſo curious as to peruſe both, and be the better for them.

CHAP. III.

A Letter to Signior BARBARO, *Patriarch of* Aquilea; *concerning the method of enjoying compleat Happineſs in old Age*:

IT muſt needs be owned, that the mind of man is one of the greateſt works of God, and that it is the maſterpiece of the divine architect. Is it not ſurprizing, to be able, by writing, to keep up a correſpondence with one's friends at a diſtance? And is not our nature of a wonderful compoſition, which affords us the means of ſeeing one another with the eyes of our imagination, as I (Sir) behold you at preſent? It is after this manner that I ſhall enter into diſcourſe with you, and relate to you ſeveral pleaſing and profitable things.

It is true, indeed, that what I have to tell you is no news, with reſpect to the ſubject matter thereof, but I never told it you at the age of ninety-one years. It is ſomewhat aſtoniſhing that I am able to tell you, that my health [38] and ſtrength are in ſo good a plight, that inſtead of diminiſhing with my old age, they ſeem to increaſe as I grow old. All my acquaintance are ſurprized at it; and I, who know to what I am indebted for this happineſs, do every where declare the cauſe of it. I endeavour all I can to convince all mankind, that a man may enjoy a compleat happineſs in this world, after the age of fourſcore, and this cannot be attained without continence and ſobriety, which are two virtues precious in the eyes of God, becauſe they are enemies to our ſenſual appetites, and friends to our preſervation.

Be pleaſed then, ſir, to know, that for ſome days paſt, ſeveral doctors of our univerſity, as well as phyſicians and philoſophers, came to be informed by me, of the method I took in my diet, having underſtood that I was ſtill healthful and ſtrong, that I had my ſenſes perfect, that my memory, my heart, my judgment, the tone of my voice, and my teeth, were all as ſound as in my youth; that I wrote ſeven or eight hours a day with my hand, and ſpent the reſt of the day in walking out a-foot, and in taking all the innocent pleaſures that are allowed to a virtuous man;—even muſic itſelf, in which I bear my part.

Ah, ſir! how ſweet a voice would you perceive mine to be, were you to hear me like another *David*, chant forth the praiſes of God to the ſound of my lyre? You would certainly be ſurprized and charmed with the harmony which I make. Thoſe gentlemen particularly admired, with what eaſineſs I could write upon ſubjects, which required a great and earneſt application of mind, and which were ſo far from fatiguing, that they diverted me. You need not queſtion, but that taking up my pen to have the honour of entertaining you to day, the pleaſure which I conceive in ſuch an employment, is more pleaſing and delightful to me, than thoſe which I am uſed to take.

Thoſe doctors told me, that I ought not to be looked upon as an old man, ſince all my works and employments were ſuch as were proper for a youth, and did by no means reſemble the works of men advanced in years; who are ca- [39] pable of doing nothing after fourſcore, who are loaded with infirmities and diſtempers, who are perpetually languiſhing, and in pain.

That if there be any of them who are leſs infirm, yet their ſenſes are decayed; their ſight and hearing fails them, their legs tremble, and their hands ſhake, they can no longer walk, nor are they capable of doing any thing: And ſhould there chance to be one that is free from thoſe diſaſters, his memory decreaſes, his ſpirits ſink, and his heart fails him; in ſhort, he does not enjoy a life ſo perfectly as I do. What they wonder at moſt, was a thing that is really ſurprzing: it is this, that by an invincible ſort of antipathy, I cannot drink any wine whatſoever, during the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, every year. I have ſo great an averſion to it, that I ſhould certainly die, did I but force myſelf to drink any; for neither my ſtomach, nor my palate can bear it; ſo that wine being as it were mother's milk to old men, it ſeems as if I could not poſſibly preſerve my life without that nouriſhment. My ſtomach then being deprived of a help ſo uſeful and proper for the maintaining the heat thereof, I could eat but very little, which about the middle of *Auguſt*, brought me ſo low and weak, that jelly-broths and cordials could not keep up my ſpirits.—However, this weakneſs is not attended with any pain, or pernicious accident. Our doctors were of opinion, that if the new wine, which reſtores me perfectly to my health, in the beginning of *September*, were not made at that time, I could never eſcape death. They were no leſs ſurprized to ſee, that in three or four days time, new wine will reſtore to me that ſtrength which I had loſt by drinking of the old; a thing of which they were witneſſes theſe days paſt, when they ſaw me in thoſe two different circumſtances, without which they never could have believed it.

Several phyſicians were pleaſed to prognoſticate to me, ten years ago, that it was impoſſible for me to hold out two or three years longer with this pernicious antipathy: However, I ſtill find myſelf leſs weak than ever, and am ſtronger this year than any that went before. This ſort of miracle, and the many favours which I received from God, [40] obliged them to tell me, that I brought along with me at my birth, an extraordinary and ſpecial gift of nature; and for the proof of their opinion they employed all their rhetoric, and made ſeveral elegant ſpeeches upon that head. It muſt be acknowledged, my lord, that eloquence has a great deal of force upon the mind of man, ſince it often perſuades him to believe that which never was, and never could be. I was very much pleaſed to hear them diſcourſe; and could it be helped, ſince they were men of parts who harangued at that rate? But that which delighted me moſt, was to reflect, that age and experience may render a man wiſer than all the colleges in the world can. Theſe are two infallible means of acquiring a clear ſight into things; and it was in truth by their help, that I know the error of that notion. To undeceive thoſe gentlemen, and at the ſame time to inſtruct them better, I replied that their way of arguing was wrong: That the favour I received was no ſpecial, but a general and univerſal one: That there was no man alive, but what may have received it as well as myſelf:

that I was but a man as well as others: that we have all, beſides our exiſtence, judgment, a mind and reaſon:—That we are all born with theſe ſame faculties of the ſoul; becauſe God was pleaſed that we ſhould all of us have nothing in common with us, but the uſe of their ſenſes: that the creator has beſtowed upon us this reaſon, and this judgment—to preſerve our lives, ſo that this grace proceeds immediately from God, and not from nature, or the ſtars:—that man, when he is young, being more ſubject to his ſenſe, than to his reaſon, gives himſelf up wholly to his pleaſures; and that when he is arrived to forty, or fifty years of age, he ought to know that he is in the midſt of his life, thanks to the goodneſs of his conſtitution, which has carried him ſo far: But that when he is arrived to this period, he goes down the hill apace to meet his death, of which the infirmities of old age are the forerunners: that old age is as different from youth, as a regular life is oppoſite to intemperancce [*sic*]: that it is neceſſary for him at that age, to change his courſe of life eſpecially with reſpect to the quantity and the quality [41] of his diet, becauſe it is on that the health and length of our days do radically depend. That laſtly, if the former part of our lives were altogether ſenſual, then the latter ought to be rational and regular; order being neceſſary for the preſervation of all things, eſpecially the life of man, as may be perceived by thoſe inconveniencies that are cauſed by exceſs, and by the healthfulneſs of thoſe that obſerve a ſtrict regimen. In truth, my lord, it is impoſſible for them who will always gratify their taſte, and their appetite, not to break their conſtitution; and that I might not break mine, when I was arrived to maturity, I entirely devoted myſelf to a ſober life. It is true, it was not without ſome reluctancy that I entered upon the reſolution and abandoned my profuſe way of living. I began with praying to God—that he would grant me the gift of temperance; and was fully perſuaded, that how difficult ſoever any undertaking be, which a man ſets about, he will attain his end, if he has but reſolution enough to conquer the obſtacles to his deſign. By this means I rooted out my evil habits, and contracted good ones; ſo that I uſed myſelf to a courſe of life, which was by ſo much the more ſevere and auſtere, by how much the more my conſtitution was become very weak when I began it. In ſhort, my lord, when they had heard my reaſons, they were forced to ſubmit to them.

The youngeſt among them told me, that he agreed that this favour might be univerſal to all men, but that it was very rarely efficacious, and that I muſt needs have a more eſpecial and victorious grace, to get above the delights and cuſtoms of an eaſy life, and embrace one that was quite contrary to it: that he did not look upon it to be impoſſible, ſince my practice convinced him of the contrary, but however it ſeemed to him to be very difficult.

I replied to him, that it was a ſhame to relinquiſh a good undertaking upon the account of the difficulties that might attend it, and that the more we meet with, the more glory ſhould we acquire: That it is the will of the creator, that every one ſhould attend to a long life, to which he has appointed man, becauſe in his old age, he might be freed from the bitter fruits that were produced by ſenſe, and might [42] enjoy the good effects of his reaſon; that when he ſhakes hands with his vices, he is no longer a ſlave to the devil, and finds himſelf in a better condition of providing for the ſalvation of his ſoul: that God, whoſe goodneſs is infinite, has ordained that the man who comes to the end of his race, ſhould end his life without any diſtemper, and by a pure diſſolution, which only ought to be called a natural death, all others being violent, and brought upon man by repletion and exceſs. That, laſtly, God is willing that man ſhould paſs by ſo ſweet and eaſy a death, to a life of immortality and glory, which I expect. I hope (ſaid I to him) to die ſinging the praiſes of my creator. The ſad reflection, that we muſt one day ceaſe to live, is no diſturbance to me, though I eaſily perceive that at my age, that fatal day cannot be far from me; that as certainly as I was born ſo I muſt die, and that many thouſands of younger perſons than myſelf, are departed this life before me. Nor am I affraid [*sic*] of the terrors of hell, becauſe I am a chriſtian, and put my truſt in the mercy and merits of the blood of *Jeſus Chriſt:* Laſtly, I hope that ſo pleaſant a life as mine, will be followed by as happy a death.

To this the young gentleman replied not a word, only that he was reſolved to lead a ſober life, that he might live and die as happily as I hoped to do; and that though hitherto he had wiſhed to be young a long time, yet now he deſired to be quickly old, that he might enjoy the pleaſures of ſuch an admirable age.

The deſire I had of giving you, my lord, a long entertainment, as being one with whom I could never be weary, has inclined me to write this long letter to you, and to add one word more before I conclude.

Some ſenſual perſons give out, that I have troubled myſelf to no purpoſe, in compoſing a treatiſe concerning ſobriety, and that I have loſt my time in endeavouring to perſuade men to the practice of that which is impoſſible: That my advices will prove as uſeleſs as the laws which *Plato* would have eſtablished in his Commonwealth, the execution of which was ſo difficult, that he could never prevail upon any man to receive them; and that what I have [43] written upon this ſubject, will meet with no better a ſucceſs. I find this compariſon is by no means juſt, ſince I practiſed what I teach a great many years before I wrote upon it; that I would never have put pen to paper, had I not known, by my own experience, that this practice was not impoſſible; that it is likewiſe very uſeful, and very prudent; and this was the motive which prevailed upon me to publiſh it. In a word, I have been the occaſion of a great many perſons practiſing it who find themſelves the better for ſo doing, ſo that the laws of *Plato* have no reſemblance to the advices which I give. But ſuch perſons who deny themſelves nothing, that they may gratify their ſenſe, do not care to give me their approbation. However, I pity theſe men, though they deſerve for their intemperance, to be tormented in their old days with a complication of diſtempers, and to be the victims of their paſſions a whole eternity.

I am, &c.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF MAN.

THAT I may not be deficient in that duty of charity, which all men owe to one another, or loſe one moment of that pleaſure which the enjoyment of life affords; I will again write, to inform thoſe who do not know me, of what they who are acquainted with me, have known and ſeen.——What I am going to ſay, will be looked upon as impoſſible, or incredible; but, at the ſame time, nothing is more certain; it being what a great many know, and what is worthily to be admired by all poſterity. I am now ninety-five years of age, and find myſelf as healthful and briſk, and airy, as if I were but twenty-five years old. [44]

What ingratitude ſhould I be guilty of, did I not return thanks to the Divine goodneſs, for all the mercies reached out unto me? Moſt of your old men have ſcarce arrived to ſixty, but they find themſelves loaded with infirmities: They are melancholy, unhealthful; always full of the frightful apprehenſions of dying: They tremble day and night, for fear of being within one foot of their graves; and are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the fancy of it, that it is a hard matter to divert them but for a moment from that doleful thought. Bleſſed be God, I am free from their ills and terrors. It is my opinion, that I ought not as yet to abandon myſelf to that vain fear: This I will make appear by the ſequel; and will alſo evince, how certain I am of living an hundred years. But that I may obſerve a method in the ſubject I am treating of, I will begin with the birth of man, and end with his Death.

I ſay then, that ſome bodies are born with ſo bad a conſtitution, that they live but few days, or months. Whether this proceeds from the bad conſtitutions of the parents, or from a weakneſs of nature, which derives this defect from ſome foreign cauſe, is hard to determine: For it is not likely, that nature, as ſhe is the common parent of all mankind, ſhould be guilty of over-fondneſs to ſome of her children, and of cruelty towards others.

Since we are able to diſcover the true reaſon from whence the ſhortneſs of our lives proceeds, it is in vain to enquire into the cauſe of it. It is enough to know, that there are bodies which die almoſt as ſoon as they are born.

Others are born well ſhaped and healthful, but of a tender make; and ſome of theſe live ten, twenty, thirty, or forty years, without being able to attain to that period which is called old age.

Others there are, who bring along with them a ſtrong conſtitution into the world, and they indeed get to be old: But then they are ſo decrepit and unhealthful, (as hath been already obſerved) bringing upon themſelves all the diſtempers they labour under, becauſe they truſted too much to the ſtrength of their conſtitution. They are unwilling to alter their courſe of life, and make no differ- [45] ence between their being old and young; as if they were to be as vigorous at fourſcore, as in the flower of their days. By this means, they never correct their conduct, nor make any reflection that they are old, that their conſtitution decays, that their ſtomach loſes every day ſomething of its natural heat; and for that reaſon, they ought to be more careful both of the quality and quantity of what they eat and drink. They are of opinion, that a man's ſtrength imparing as he grows into years, he ought to repair and ſupport it by a greater quantity of food: They fancy, that to eat a great deal preſerves their lives; but therein they are miſtaken: For the natural heat beginning to decay, they overcharge it with too much food; and prudence requires, that a man ſhould proportion his diet to his digeſtive faculties. This is certain, that the peccant humours proceed only from an imperfect digeſtion; and there is but a little good chyle made, when the ſtomach is charged with freſh aliments, before it has thrown off the former meal's meat into the inteſtines. It cannot then be urged too often, that when the natural heat begins to decay, it is neceſſary for the preſervation of health, to abate the quantity of what one eats and drinks every day; nature requiring but little for the ſupport of the life of man, eſpecially that of an old man.

However, inſtead of taking this courſe, moſt old people continue to live as they did formerly. If they had ſtinted themſelves in time, they would at leaſt have arrived to my years and enjoyed as long a life as myſelf, ſince they brought into the world a ſtrong conſtitution. They might have lived ſo long at leaſt, I ſay; for they might have arrived to ſixſcore as a great many others who lived ſoberly have done, whom we have known ourſelves, or have heard of by tradition; provided always, that they had as happy a conſtitution as thoſe people. Had I been as well made, I would not queſtion but I might prolong my days to that date, but becauſe I was born with a tender conſtitution, I cannot hope to live above a century: And even they who are of no ſtronger a make than myſelf, may, by living ſoberly, as I do, eaſily attain to the ſame period.

Nothing ſeems more delightful than this certainty of a [46] long life; whilſt the reſt of mankind, who obſerve not the rules of ſobriety, are not ſure of ſeeing the next day. This expectation of a long life, is founded on ſuch natural conſequences as can never fail. It is next to impoſſible, that he who leads a regular and ſober life, ſhould fall ſick, or die a natural death, before the time that nature has preſcribed: I ſay, he cannot die before that time: becauſe a ſober life prevents that corruption which feeds our diſtempers, which cannot be produced without a cauſe; and if there is no bad one reigning, there can be no fatal effect, or violent death.

There is no queſtion to be made, but that a regular life puts at a diſtance the ſad hour of our death; ſince it is able to keep the humours in an exact temperature: Whereas, on the contrary, gluttony and drunkenneſs diſturbs, heats, and puts them into a ferment; which is the origin of catarrhs, fevers, and almoſt all the accidents which hurry us to our graves.

However, though ſobriety, which preſerves us from abundance of diſaſters, may repair what exceſs has impaired, yet it muſt not be ſuppoſed that it will make a man immortal. It is impoſſible, but that time, which effaces all things, ſhould likewiſe deſtroy the moſt curious workmanſhip of nature. That which had a beginning, muſt needs have an end; but man ought to end his days by a natural death, that is, without any pain; as they will ſee me die when the radicial [*sic*] moiſture ſhall be quite exhauſted.

I find this principle of life ſtill ſo perfect in me, that I promiſe myſelf ſtill to be at ſome diſtance from my laſt day; and I fancy I am not miſtaken, becauſe I am healthful and briſk, reliſh all I eat, ſleep quietly, and, in a word, none of my ſenſes fail me. I have ſtill a lively fancy, a happy memory, a ſound judgment, a ſtrong heart; and my voice is more tuneable than ever, (though the firſt organ that fails) ſo that I can chant forth my office every morning, without any prejudice to my lungs and more eaſily than I could in my youth.

All theſe are infallible ſigns, that I have a great while ſtill to live; but that my life ſhall end, whenever it pleaſe God. How glorious will it then be, having been then at- [47] tended with all the happineſs this world can afford, ſince age has freed me from the ſlavery of my paſſions? A prudent and regular old age conquers and eradicates them; prevents them from bringing forth any envenomed fruits, and changes all the ill thoughts which youth inſpires into thoſe that are good.

Being no longer a ſlave to ſenſe, I am not troubled with the thoughts that my ſoul ſhall one day be ſeparated from the body. I am no longer diſturbed with anxious fears and racking cares, nor vexed at the loſs of that which is not really mine. The death of my friends and relations, occaſions no other grief in me, than that of the firſt movement of nature, which cannot be avoided, but is of no long continuance.

I am ſtill leſs moved at the loſs of any temporal good, ſo afflictive to a great many perſons. This is only the happineſs of thoſe that grow old by ſobriety, and not of thoſe perſons who by virtue of a ſtrong conſtitution, arrive to ſuch an age, notwithſtanding their exceſſes. The one enjoys a foretaſte of heaven even in this world, whilſt the others cannot reliſh any pleaſure, without a great deal of trouble. Who would not think himſelf happy at my age, never to be ſenſible of the leaſt inconvenience? A happineſs which ſeldom attends the moſt flouriſhing youth. There are none of them but what are ſubject to a thouſand diſorders, which I know nothing of: On the contrary, I enjoy a thouſand pleaſures, which are as pure as they are calm.

The firſt of theſe, is to be ſerviceable to my country: and how does this pleaſure innocently pleaſe my vanity! When I reflect how I have furniſhed my countrymen with uſeful means, both of fortifying their city, and their port: That theſe works will ſubſiſt for many ages, that they will conduce to the making of *Venice* a famous rebublick [*sic*], a rich and matchleſs city, and ſerve to eternize its fair title of being queen of the ſea.

I have likewiſe the ſatisfaction of having afforded to her inhabitants the means of obtaining always a plenty of all things, neceſſary for life, by manuring untilled lands, draining marſhes, by laying under water, and fatning the fields which were barren by reaſon of the dryneſs of the ſoil, which would otherwiſe have been a work of time. [48]

In ſhort, I have rendered the city wherein I was born, ſtronger, richer, and more beautiful than ever, as alſo the air more wholeſome; all which is to my credit, and nothing hinders me from enjoying the glory which is due unto me.

My misfortunes having robbed me of a conſiderable eſtate, whilſt I was young, I knew how to make amends for that loſs by my care; ſo that without the leaſt wrong done to any perſon, and without any other trouble, than that of giving forth the orders that were neceſſary, I have doubled my income, and ſhall leave to my grand-children twice the eſtate that I had by inheritance from my anceſtors.

One ſatisfaction which pleaſes me more than all the reſt, is, that what I have written concerning ſobriety, is of great uſe to many who loudly proclaim how highly they are obliged to me for that work: Several of them having ſent me word from foreign parts, that, under God, they have been indebted to me for their lives.

I have likewiſe another ſatisfaction, the deprivation of which would very much diſturb me; which is, that I write and draw with my hand, all that is proper for my buildings, and for the conduct of my domeſtic affairs.

I likewiſe frequently converſe with men of learning, from whom I daily receive new notices. And it is a wonder that, at my age, I ſhould have ſo quick parts, as to learn and comprehend the moſt refined and difficult of ſciences.

But that which makes me look upon myſelf as one of the happieſt of men, is, that I in ſome meaſure enjoy two ſorts of lives; the one terreſtial, with reſpect to the actions of my body; and the other divine and celeſtial, by the pleaſures of the mind; which are attended with a great many charms, when founded on reaſonable objects, and a moral aſſurance of the infinite good things which the divine bounty prepares for us.

I enjoy then perfectly, the pleaſures of this mortal life. Thanks to ſobriety, which is extremely grateful to God, as being the guardian of virtue, and an irreconcilable enemy to vice; and by way of foretaſte, I enjoy eternal life, by contemplating ſo often on the happineſs thereof, that I can hardly think upon any thing elſe. I look upon death as the neceſſary paſſage to Heaven, and am ſo far charmed [49] with the glorious elevation to which I think my ſoul is deſigned, that I can no longer ſtoop to thoſe trifles, which charm and infatuate the greateſt part of mankind. The deprivation of thoſe pleaſures to which I was moſt addicted, gives me no diſquiet; on the contrary, the loſs of them raiſes my joy, ſince it is to be the beginning of a life incomparably more happy.

Who then would be troubled, if he were in my place? However, there is not a man, but may hope for the like happineſs, if he would live as I do. For in ſhort, I am neither ſaint nor angel, but only a man, the ſervant of God, to whom a ſober and regular life is ſo grateful, that even in this world he rewards thoſe who practice it.

If all they who retire into monaſteries, to lead there a penitent life, a life of prayer and contemplation, would to all their virtues, add the prudence of abridging themſelves in their diet, they would become more deſerving and more venerable.

They would be looked upon as ſaints, by perſevering in their auſterities, and eſteemed as thoſe old Patriarchs, and ancient Hermits, who obſerved a conſtant ſobriety, and lived ſo long a time. They might very probably obtain, at the age of ſixſcore, ſo much grace, as to be able to work miracles, which they could not do, for want of ſuch a perfection, to which they could not arrive before that time,—and beſides this privilege, which is almoſt an infallible mark of predeſtination, they would be in conſtant health, which is as rarely to be met with in the old age of the moſt pious monks, as in that of the greateſt part of the wiſeſt worldlings.

Several of thoſe monks fancy, that God does on purpoſe annex infirmities to old age, to ſerve inſtead of penance impoſed for the ſins committed in their youth. But therein, as I think, they are very much miſtaken. For I cannot imagine how God, who loves mankind, can be delighted in their ſufferings. It is the Devil and ſin which brings all the evils we ſuffer, upon our heads, and not God, who is our father and creator. He deſires that mankind ſhould be happy, both in this and the other world: His commands tend to no other purpoſe; and temperance would not be a [50] virtue, if the benefit it does us by preſerving us from diſtempers, were repugnant to the deſigns of God in our old age.

In ſhort, if all the truly pious were ſober, *Chriſtendom* would be as full of ſaints, as in the primitive times, nay, they would be more numerous, becauſe chriſtians are increaſed ſince that time. How many venerable doctors might edify others by their wholeſome preachings and good examples? How many ſinners might receive benefit by their interceſſions? How many bleſſings might they ſhower upon the earth? Theſe monks, in obſerving the maxims which I profeſs, need not fear acting contrary to thoſe of their rule.

There is not one that forbids them the uſe of bread, wine and eggs; ſome alſo permit them to eat fleſh. Beſides theſe things, they make uſe of ſallads, pulſe, fruit, cakes, which are prejudicial to ſome ſtomachs. Becauſe theſe meſſes are offered to them in the refectory, they may perhaps be affraid of tranſgreſſing their rule, if they ſhould abſtain from them. However, they would have done better, if, thirty years ago, they had abſtained from that diet, and contented themſelves with bread, wine, broths and eggs, which are the beſt food a tender body can take. Would not this be better than the nouriſhment of the ancient fathers in the deſart, who drank nothing but fair water, did eat only wild fruit, herbs, and raw roots, yet lived a long time without infirmities? Our anchorets would likewiſe find a more eaſy way to heaven, than thoſe of *Thebais*.

I will conclude all with ſaying, that ſince extreme old age may be ſo uſeful and pleaſant to men, I ſhould have failed in point of charity, had I not taken care to inform them, by what methods they might prolong their days. I have had no other motive in writing upon this ſubject, than that of engaging them to practiſe all their lives, a virtue which would bring them, like me, to a happy old age in which I will not ceaſe to cry, live, live long, to the end you may ſerve God, and be fit for the glory which he prepares for his elect. [51]

CHAP. V.

Being a letter from a Nun of Padua, *the Grand Daughter of* LEWIS CORNARO,

LEWIS CORNARO was, by the ill conduct of ſome of his relations, deprived of the dignity of a Noble *Venetian*, of which he was poſſeſſed, and which he deſerved for his virtues and by his birth. He was not baniſhed from his country, but was free to remain in Venice, if he pleaſed; but ſeeing himſelf excluded from all the public employments of the republic, he retired to *Padua*, where he took up his reſidence.

He married at *Udine*, a city of *Friuli*; his wife's name was *Veronicia*, of the family of the *Spilenbergs*. She was a long time barren, and as he ardently wiſhed for children, he neglected nothing which might give him that ſatisfaction. At laſt, after many vows, prayers and remedies, his wife became pregnant, and was delivered of a daughter; who was named *Clara*, becauſe of the devotion which each of them had for St. *Francis*.

This was an only daughter, and was married to *John Cornaro*, ſon of *Fantin*, of the family of that name, which was diſtinguiſhed by the ſir-name of *Cornaro del Eſpiſcopia*. It was a very powerful family, before the loſs which *Chriſtendom* ſuffered, by loſing the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, where that family had a conſiderable eſtate.

Clara had eleven children, eight ſons, and three daughters. *Lewis Cornaro* had alſo the pleaſure to ſee himſelf, as it were, revived by miracle, in a great number of ſucceſſors; for though he was very ancient when *Clara* came into the world, yet he lived to ſee her very old, and his off-ſpring to the third generation.

Cornaro was a man of underſtanding, merit and courage.—He loved glory, and was naturally liberal, neverthelеſs without profuſeneſs.

His youth was infirm; being very paſſionate and haſty; but when he perceived what damage the vices of his temper cauſed him, he reſolved to correct them, and had ſtrength enough over himſelf to conquer his paſſion, and thoſe extravagant humours to which he was ſubject. After this glorious victory, he became ſo [52] moderate, mild, and affable, that he gained the eſteem and friendſhip of all that knew him.

He was extraordinary ſober, and obſerved the rules which he mentions in his writings, and dieted himſelf always with ſo much wiſdom and precaution, that finding his natural heat decaying by degrees in his old age, he alſo diminiſhed his diet by degrees, ſo far as to ſtint himſelf to the yolk of an egg for a meal, and ſometimes, a little before his death, it ſerved for two meals.

By this means he preſerved his health, and was alſo vigorous, to the age of an hundred years; his mind did not decay, he never had need of ſpectacles, neither loſt he his hearing.

And that which is no leſs true, than difficult to believe, is, that he preſerved his voice ſo clear and harmonious, that at the end of his life he ſang with as much ſtrength and delight, as he did at the age of twenty five years.

He had foreſeen that he ſhould live long without any infirmity, and was not deceived in it. When he felt that his laſt hour drew near, he diſpoſed himſelf to leave this life with the piety of a chriſtian, and, the courage of a philoſopher. He made his will, and ſet all his affairs in order; after which he received the laſt ſacraments, and expected death patiently in an elbow chair. In ſhort, it may be ſaid, that being in good health, feeling no manner of pain, having alſo his mind and eye very briſk, a little fainting fit took him, which was inſtead of an agony, and made him fetch his laſt breath. He died at *Padua*, the 26th of April, 1566, and was buried the 8th of May following.

His wife died ſome years after him. Her life was long, and her old age as happy as that of her ſpouſe, only her latter days were not altogether like his. Some time before her death, ſhe was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, which brought her to her grave. She gave up her ſoul one night in her bed without any convulſive motions, and with ſo perfect tranquility ſhe left this life, without being perceived.

This is all I can ſay of thoſe good people, by the idea which remains of them, from what I heard my deceaſed father and ſome other friends of *Lewis Cornaro*, ſay of them, who having lived ſo long after an extraordinary manner, deſerve not to die ſo ſoon in the memory of man. [53]

CHAP. VI.

Authorities taken from the Hiſtory of M. de THOU, *and the Dialogues of* CARDAN, *concerning the method of prolonging a Man's Life, and preſerving his Health.*

THE extract of the 38th book of the hiſtory of Mr. Preſident *de Thou*, runs thus:

"*LEWIS CORNARO* was an extraordinary and admirable inſtance of a long life; for he lived an hundred years, healthful in body, and ſound in mind. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Venice*; but through ſome misfortune owing to his birth, he was excluded from all honours and public employments in the ſtate. He married at *Udine*, in *Friuli*, one *Veronica*, of the family of *Spilenburgs*; and being in poſſeſſion of a good eſtate, he was very deſirous of having children to inherit it. In ſhort, what by the prayers he put up, and by the help of phyſicians, he conquered the point; and his wife, whom he dearly loved, and who was pretty well gone in years, was brought to bed of a daughter, when he leaſt of all expected it. This daughter, named *Clara*, was married to *John*, the ſon of *Fanttni Cornaro*, a rich family of *Cyprus*; by whom ſhe had eight ſons and three daughters.

"In a word, *Lewis Cornaro*, by his ſobriety, and the regimen he obſerved in his diet, corrected the infirmities he had contracted by intemperance in his youth; and by the ſtrength of his reaſon, moderated his inclination and propenſity to anger: So that in his old age, he had as good a conſtitution of body, and as mild and even tempered a mind, as before, in the flower of his youth, he was infirm and apt to fly out into a paſſion. He compoſed ſeveral treatiſes when he was very old; wherein he tells us of the irregularity of his former life, and of his reformation, and the hopes he had of living long. Nor was he miſtaken in [54] his account; for he died calmly, and without any pain, (being above an hundred years old) at *Padua*, where he had taken up his reſidence. His wife, almoſt as old as himſelf, ſurvived him, but within a ſhort time after, died a very eaſy death. They were both buried in St. *Anthony*'s church, without any pomp, according as they had ordered by their laſt will and teſtament.

In the *Dialogue of Cardan*, between a Philoſopher, a Citizen, and a Hermit, concerning the methods of *prolonging a man's life*, and *preſerving his health*; *Cardan* introduces the Hermit diſcourſing thus:

"Whereas in ſolid nouriſhments, and even in drinks, there are ſeveral things worthy our obſervation; *viz.* their natural qualities, and thoſe which they acquire by the ſeaſoning of them; the order and the time wherein we ought to make uſe of them, without mentioning the quantity of thoſe very aliments and drinks; it is not without reaſon, that the queſtion is aſked, which of theſe things is to be regarded moſt?

"Some have declared themſelves for the quantity; maintaining, that it has in effect a greater ſhare than any other thing, in the preſervation of health and life.

"The famous *Lewis Cornaro*, a noble *Venetian*, was of this mind. He treated on this ſubject at the age of fourſcore enjoying then a perfect ſoundneſs of body and mind. This venerable old man, at the age of thirty ſix, was ſeized with ſo violent a diſtemper, that his life was deſpaired of. Ever after that time he took care to eat juſt the ſame quantity every meal: And though he was not free from a great many fatigues, and ſome misfortunes, which occaſioned his brother's death; yet the exactneſs of his regimen preſerved him always in health, with an entire freedom of mind.

"At ſeventy years of age, a coach (in which he travelled) was overthrown, by which he was dragged a great way and wounded in his head, and one of his legs and arms put out. The phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery, and [55] were for applying a great many remedies to him: But *Cornaro* tells us that being well ſatisfied of the temperature of his humours, he rejected all the aſſiſtance of the phyſicians, and was quickly cured.

"Nine years after, when he was almoſt fourſcore, his friends, and his very phyſicians, adviſed him to add two ounces to his ordinary diet. Within ten or twelve days after he fell ſick; the phyſicians gave him over, and he himſelf began to fear the worſt; however he recovered his health, though wtth [*sic*] much ado.["]

The ſame author adds, "That being fourſcore years old, his ſight and hearing was ſound and good; that his voice held ſtrong; that he ſometimes ſang in concert with his grand children: That he could either ride, or walk a-foot very well; and that he compoſed a comedy, which came off with applauſe.

"This wiſe old gentleman was then of the opinion, that a regular and ſmall quantity of food contributed more than any thing elſe to the preſervation of health; for he makes no mention of his choice of diets. I am uſed, ſays *Cornaro*, to take, in all, twelve ounces of ſolid nouriſhment, ſuch as meat, and the yolk of an egg and fourteen ounces of drink. It is to be lamented, that he did not preciſely tell us whether he took this quantity at once or twice a day: However, ſince he tells us, that he did eat but a very little, it ſeems as if he did ſo but once a day.

"The famous Civilian, *Panigarolous*, who lived above ſeventy years, though of a very week conſtitution, never eat or drank above twenty-eight ounces a day; which comes almoſt to the ſame quantity of *Cornaro*.

"I was intimately acquainted with one, who never took above thirty ſix ounces a day. It is true, indeed, that every fortnight he purged himſelf; but he lived to above ninety years of age.

"It ſeems then, as if *Cornaro* was minded to keep from us a perfect knowledge of his regimen, and only to tell us, that he had found out an extraordinary one; ſince he has not informed us, whether he took the quantity he ſpeakes [56] of, at once, or twice a day, nor whether he altered his diet; for he treats on that ſubject, as darkly and obſcurely as *Hippocrates*.

"It is likewiſe ſtrange, that the quantity of his liquid ſhould exceed that of his ſolid diet; and the rather, becauſe what he did eat was not equally nouriſhing, ſince he took yolks of eggs, as well as meat. In truth, to me he ſeems to talk more like a philoſopher, than a phyſician."

Thus far *Cardan:* But, by his leave, if he had read what *Cornaro* has written concerning a ſober and regular life, with attention, he would have paſſed a ſounder judgment on his writings; for, in them, he not only ſpeaks of the quantity, but, in expreſs terms, diſcourſes of the quality of our diet, [57]

APPENDIX.

The caſe of Mr. THOMAS WOOD, *a miller, of* Billericay, *in the county of* Eſſex, England. *Extracted from* "Medical Tranſactions," Vol. II.

THOMAS WOOD, born on the 30th of November, 1719, of parents, who were apt to be intemperate in their manner of living, was ſubject to various diſorders, particularly the rheumatiſm, until he attained the age of thirteen years. He then had the ſmall-pox in a favourable way; and from that time became healthy, and continued to have no complaints, to the age of about forty-three years. From his attaining the ſtate of manhood to this period, but eſpecially during the latter part of the time, he indulged himſelf, even to exceſs, in fat meat, of which he uſed to eat voraciouſly three times a day, together with large quantities of butter and cheeſe. Nor was he more cautious with reſpect to ſtrong ale, which was his common drink. About his fortieth year he began to grow very fat; but finding that he had a good appetite, and digeſted his food without difficulty; and that his ſleep was undiſturbed; he made no alteration in his diet. It was in his forty-fourth year when he firſt began to be diſturbed in his ſleep, and to complain of the heart-burn, of frequent ſickneſs at his ſtomach, pains in his bowels, head ache, and vertigo. He was now ſometimes coſtive, at other times in the oppo- [58] ſite extreme; had almoſt a conſtant thirſt, a great lowneſs of ſpirits, violent rheumatiſm, and frequent attacks of the gout. He had likewiſe two epileptic fits. But the ſymptom, which appeared to him to be the moſt formidable,—was a ſenſe of ſuffocation, which often came on him, particularly after his meals.——Under ſuch a complication of diſeaſes, every day increaſing,—he continued till the month of Auguſt, 1764. At this time the Rev. Mr. Powley, a worthy clergyman in the neighbourhood, obſerving his very ill ſtate of health, and the extreme corpulence of his perſon, recommended to him an exact regimen; and pointed out the *Life of Cornaro,* as a book likely to ſuggeſt to him a ſalutary courſe of living. This book convinced him, that intemperance was the principal cauſe of all his complaints, and he therefore determined to try, whether, the cauſe being removed, the effects might not ceaſe. However he thought it prudent, not to make a total change in his diet ſuddenly and at once: accordingly he at firſt confined himſelf to one pint only of his ale every day; and uſed animal food ſparingly. This method he ſoon found to anſwer to his ſatisfaction; for he felt eaſier and lighter, and his ſpirits became leſs oppreſſed. Theſe good effects encouraged him to proceed in his experiment; and therefore, after he had purſued the regimen, before mentioned, during two months, he deducted from his allowance half the former quantity of ale, and was ſtill more ſparing of groſs animal food. In this courſe he continued till the 4th of January, 1765, ſince which time he has intirely left off all malt liquor; and, in the following month he began to drink only water, and to eat none, except the lighter meats. Under this degree of abſtinence, although ſome of his complaints were relieved,—yet ſome of them remained in full force.——The rheumatiſm tormented him; and ſtill he had, now and then, ſlight fits of the gout. On the 4th of June following, he began the uſe of the cold-bath; and continued it twice or thrice a week, until the 29th of October, 1767. About the ſame time he began the exerciſe of *the dumb-bell*; in which he perſeveres to this day. Water was his only [59] drink from the beginning of January, 1765, to the 25th of the following October. From this day he drank no more, until the 9th of May, 1766, when he drank two glaſſes and an half of water; ſince which he has drunk no more of any liquor whatever, except only what he has taken in form of medicine. He has avoided cheeſe, ever ſince the 30th day of June, 1767. He began to abſtain from butter ſome ſooner. The 31ſt of July, in the ſame year, was the laſt time of his eating any animal fleſh. Since that date his diet has been principally confined to pudding made of ſea-biſcuit. He allows himſelf very little ſleep, generally going to bed at eight o'clock in the evening, ſometimes even earlier, and generally riſing about one o'clock in the morning, but being very rarely in bed after two o'clock.

Under this ſtrict courſe of abſtinence he ſtill continues to live; and he expreſſes, in the higheſt terms, the greateſt pleaſure and tranquility of mind which he enjoys in conſequence of it. The poor diet, to which he has accuſtomed himſelf, is now as agreeable to his palate, as his former food uſed to be; and he has the additional ſatisfaction to find his health eſtabliſhed: his ſpirits lively: his ſleep no longer diſturbed by frightful dreams; and his ſtrength of muſcles ſo far improved, that he can carry a quarter of a ton-weight, which weight he in vain attempted to carry, when he was about the age of thirty years. His voice which was intirely loſt for ſeveral years, is now become clear and ſtrong. In ſhort, to uſe his own expreſſion, he is metamorphoſed from a monſter to a perſon of a moderate ſize; from the condition of an unhealthy, decrepit, old man, to perfect health, and to the vigour and activity of youth.—His fleſh is now firm; his complexion well-coloured; and, what is very remarkable, the integuments of his belly, which I expected to have found looſe and pendulous, are contracted nearly in proportion to his diminiſhed bulk.

Prejudiced by a commonly prevailing ſuperſtition, Mr. *Wood* never ſuffered himſelf to be weighed, either during the ſtate of his extreme corpulence, or ſince his reduction; but it is conjectured, that he has loſt ten or perhaps eleven ſtone-weight. [60]

On being aſked, why he ſubmitted to ſuch very strict rules in his diet, he anſwered that, as he was ten years older than *Cornaro* was, when he began his regimen, he thought that, on that account, a more ſevere and abſtemious courſe was neceſſary for him; and that he was greatly influenced by Dr. *Cheyne*'s opinion, "That *Cornaro* would probably have lived longer, had his regimen been more ſtrict."

To the queſtion, "what firſt induced him to abſtain from all drink?" He anſwered, that it happened one day that the ſervant had forgotten to bring his water at dinner, as uſual; that, being then full of buſineſs, he did not think of calling for any; and that, having found himſelf eaſier and leſs oppreſſed by that meal than common, he determined to try, whether a total omiſſion of all liquids might not be an improvement to his diet; and that he ſoon found the experiment to anſwer. He added, that he was farther encouraged to abſtain from liquids by an obſervation that he had made in feeding hogs. He never allows theſe animals to drink;—and to this he attributes the excellence of his pork:—it being greatly valued on account of the whiteneſs and firmneſs of the fleſh.

His buſineſs obliges him to uſe a great deal of exerciſe, particularly that of riding. Beſides this he uſes *the dumb-bell*, as was before mentioned; and digs in his garden, whenever he has leiſure. But, let his exerciſe be ever ſo laborious, or ever ſo long continued, he has very little or no ſenſible perſpiration.

I have thrice had on opportunity of examining his pulſe, about ten o'clock in the morning, after his having walked ſix hours. The firſt time, I counted 45 pulſations in a minute; the next time, 47; the laſt, only 44.

He makes every day, about a pint and half of urine, which is of a full amber colour. It has ſcarce varied, either in quantity or appearance, ever ſince he left off drinking.

He has ſeldom more than one ſtool in two days, or two in three days. If it happens at any time, that his body is in a leſs coſtive ſtate, he finds himſelf languid and faint, and leſs able to go through his buſineſs. [61]

Although he wears thinner cloaths, than he uſed to wear, when in his ſtate of corpulence, he finds himſelf much leſs ſenſible of the external cold. He is likewiſe much leſs liable to catarrhs, than he formerly was. Nay, he expoſes himſelf to all weathers; and yet ſcarce ever perceives the leaſt degree of that indiſpoſition.

From the time that he firſt entered upon the pudding-diet, he has been much leſs ſubject to flatulence; and ſtill much leſs ſo than ever, ſince he left off drinking.

It is to be added to the advantages, which he has gained by his regimen, that he is now entirely free from gravel, a diſorder to which he was formerly very ſubject.

Mr. *Wood* is a great enemy to all fermented liquors; to butter; and to ſalt. Nay, he even doubts of the wholeſomeneſs of common bread, meaning bread which has undergone the proceſs of fermentation. Nor does he ſeem to build this opinion on mere ſpeculation; for he aſſerts that when his pudding has, at any time been made of common bread inſtead of ſea-biſcuit, he has conſtantly found the effects of it to be thirſt, unquiet ſleep, and diſagreeable dreams.

The pudding, which was his ſole support during two years, was made as follows. Three pints of ſkimmed milk, boiling, were poured on one pound of the beſt ſea biſcuit, broken into pieces. This was done over night; and theſe ingredients were left to ſtand together until the following morning, when two eggs were added. This compound, being boiled in a cloth about the ſpace of an hour, became a pudding of ſufficient conſiſtence to be cut with a knife. Of this his quantity uſed to be one pound and an half, at four or five o'clock in the morning, as his breakfaſt, and the ſame at noon, as his dinner; after which he abſtained from food until the next day. But having grown fatter under the uſe of this diet, he judged it neceſſary to quit it, as being too nutritious; and during three months he lived on the following compoſition; *videlicet*, one pound of coarſe flour, and one pint of water, boiled together. This he was at firſt much pleaſed with; but afterwards found it diſagreeable to his ſtomach, and not eaſily digeſtible. The pudding, which [62] he now uſes, is compoſed of one pound of the flour, of which the beſt kind of ſea-biſcuit is made, boiled with a pint and half of ſkimmed milk, without any other addition.

I have only to add, that Mr. *Wood* has the character of a man of veracity; and that he is deſirous to communicate his hiſtory to the public, as I really believe, not from a motive of vanity, but of benevolence to mankind.

"*January* 30, 1770. WE, whoſe names are underwritten, do certify, that Mr. *Thomas Wood*, of Billericay, [an hamlet of Great Burſtead][8] about five or ſix years ago, was very corpulent, and in a very bad ſtate of health;—and that now he is is [*sic*] reduced to the condition of a middle-ſized man, and is become healthy and active. Theſe effects he attributes to a certain regimen and diet. This we believe to be true, eſteeming Mr. *Wood* to be a perſon of undoubted credit, and incapable of impoſing a falſehood on us:

"*P. D'Aranda*, Vicar of Great-Burſtead, Eſſex.
"*Smith Turner*, Church-warden of the ſaid Pariſh.
"*John Powley*, Rector of St. Laurence and Nevendon, Eſſex.
"*Benjamin Pugh*, Phyſician at Chelmsford.
"*Robert Chaplyn*, Apothecary to Mr. Wood."

P. S. Aug. 22, 1771, Mr. *Wood* informs me, that he ſtill purſues the ſame general method, and ſtill enjoys the beneficial effects of it. He ſays, that he ſometimes uſes a coarſer kind of flour than what is mentioned above, in order to prevent coſtiveneſs. He continues lively, active and in full ſtrength [63]

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[8] These brackets are in the original text.

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FINIS.

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[9] Pages of original text.

A Re-Examination of the Antecedents of the Massachusetts Bay Company's Charter of 1629

ROBERT EARLE MOODY[1]

THE Puritan Fathers of Massachusetts have had the advantage of being the first to write their own history and the good fortune of receiving further commentary on their lives and times from pious and considerate descendants. To be sure, there have been sour notes struck here and there, sometimes by irreverent progeny, oftener by unsympathetic natives of other parts of the land. But, all in all, the usual account of the land basis of the Massachusetts Colony —the Massachusetts Bay Company's charter of 1629—has been the simple story of a persecuted religious minority seeking first a grant of land from the do-nothing, moribund New England Council to which New England had been granted by the King and, having got it, making more secure their rights under this grant by obtaining from the King, directly, a confirmatory charter which, either by extraordinary foresight blessed by God or by an equally providential accident, allowed the company to move its government to the New World. In this version of Puritan history, the grant by the New England Council, March 19, 1627/8, to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whitcomb, was a grant by which the Council gave up its rights to all the land between a line three miles north of the Merrimack and a line three miles south of the Charles and extending west to the Pacific. The King's charter of 1629 merely added the right to govern land already legally possessed.

Curiously enough, the original of the basic Rosewell grant is not known to exist. It is not mentioned in the surviving records of the New England Council until the fateful meeting of June 26, 1632, when John Humfrey complained that the Council was not permitting vessels to go to Massachusetts except under its license, in spite of the

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[1] This paper was read at the February, 1949, meeting.

Massachusetts Bay Company's grant from the Council which had been confirmed by the King under the Great Seal. Quite naturally some of the Council, taken completely by surprise by this information, demanded to see the grant which had been made in the company's behalf. Mr. Humfrey reported that it was in New England and that, though often written for, it had not been received. It was not then produced, moreover, and even when the legal existence of the Massachusetts Bay Company was under attack later, this grant was not brought forward in its defense.

The Massachusetts Bay Company was not careless in the preservation of essential documents. Its leaders were shrewd, experienced owners of property. The failure to produce the original grant to Rosewell and his associates leads inevitably to the conclusion that the grant was of no legal value to its case. The fact that the document itself has disappeared completely makes it seem probable that to produce it would have been to bring to light some damaging facts in regard either to the grant itself or to the means by which it had been obtained. The mystery of what happened to it has thrown suspicion even on the accuracy with which it is quoted in the charter of 1629, where alone its terms may now be found.

The chief writer who attempts to give a detailed account of the background of this grant is Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup. In two books, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and Its Predecessors*[2] and *John White*,[3] she gives a necessarily inferential account of the movement which eventually led to the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. Much of her evidence was new, and her conclusion was that the Rosewell grant is not correctly quoted in the Massachusetts charter. Professor Charles M. Andrews in his nearly definitive *Colonial Period of American History*[4] follows Mrs. Rose-Troup's account fairly closely. He says that while the copy of the Rosewell grant "imbedded" in the charter of 1629 has always been taken at its face value, its accuracy "is far from certain."[5] He repeats the same statement in his review of this Society's publication of the charter in 1930.[6] But neither he nor Mrs. Rose-Troup gives all the facts that are available, and some mis-statements have crept into their accounts. I propose, therefore, to discuss the few bits of contemporary evidence in reference to this grant, and, second, to make some conjectures in regard to the land history of the Massachusetts Bay Company.[7]

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[2] Frances Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and Its Predecessors* (New York, 1930).

[3] Frances Rose-Troup, *John White, the Founder of Massachusetts* (New York and London, 1930).

[4] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 volumes, New Haven, 1934–1938).

[5] *Ibid.*, I. 357.

The first step in the settlement of Massachusetts Bay was the grant made by the New England Council at the instigation of the Reverend John White, of Dorchester, England, of a fishing license to Richard Bushrod and his associates with the intention that after a voyage of discovery, Bushrod, or "some one of his Associates might bee admitted a pattentee" in the Council. The evidence for this license is to be found in the Council's records, February 20, 1622/3.[8] The condition set for one of these associates to become a patentee was that he pay in installments, before the ensuing July 2 (1623), the sum of £110. There is no record of the payment of this sum by any of this group; but in a contemporary diary[9] quoted by Mrs. Rose-Troup, there is a reference to Sir Walter Erle, one of Bushrod's associates, as "Gouernour of the New England plantacion."[10] Though Professor Andrews gives Mrs. Rose-Troup as his authority for his data,[11] he not only misdates by one year (1622 for 1623) the Bushrod license, but also categorically states that Erle on February 18, 1623, got a patent in which he was named governor. This date is actually the date of the Council meeting at which Bushrod applied for his license, which was two days later issued and sealed.

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[6] *New England Quarterly*, IV (January, 1931), 176.

[7] As this paper goes to the printer, there comes to hand Richard A. Preston's *Gorges of Plymouth Fort* (Toronto, 1953). Professor Preston, in chapter 13, covers some of this ground, generously acknowledging his use of this paper as originally written. Any discrepancies which may be discerned are primarily due to changes made by the author of this paper between the time of its reading and its printing.

[8] American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, April, 1867 (reprinted, Cambridge, 1867), 38–40. I shall hereafter refer to the reprint as *Records of the Council for New England.* Page numbers are those of the reprint.

[9] William Whiteway, Jr., "Diary."

[10] Rose-Troup, *John White*, 61 and 63. An additional bit of evidence of Sir Walter's connection with New England is found in *Acts of Privy Council of England. Colonial Series*, I (Hereford, 1908), 97, where it is stated that "Sir Walter Earle," Sir Richard Strode, and other gentlemen are authorized, March 18, 1625/6, to ship "vnto the Plantation of New England, the nomber of twentie Rother Cattell."

[11] Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I. 346–347.

It is on the evidence of the diary's calling Erle governor that Mrs. Rose-Troup *assumes* that Erle paid the required £110 and that he therefore received a grant like the other patentees who paid similar sums. There is nothing unreasonable about this assumption, even though Erle's name does not appear as a patentee in the division of New England late in 1623. But the fact of being called governor of a plantation is not absolute proof. Still, suppose that Erle did have a patent of land: what may its terms have been? Lacking the document, we must rely upon analogous grants.

Three men are known to have paid the necessary £110 about this time and to have been given specific grants by the Council. They were: David Thomson, Christopher Levett, and Abraham Jennings. Of these three, only Abraham Jennings's name appears in the list of the patentees of 1623.[12]

All the details that we know of David Thomson's grant are found in a secondary indenture (owned by this Society) which Thomson made with his merchant backers.[13] It appears from this document that his grant was a promise of six thousand acres of land including an island to be selected by him. When he had occupied the land, he was to be confirmed in his possession by the Council. Thomson settled first at the mouth of the Piscataqua River. So far as is known, no confirmation was ever issued to him. In 1626, he removed to what is known as Thompson's Island, in Boston Harbor. He probably took possession of this island under cover of the same unbounded grant by authority of which he had settled in New Hampshire. Hubbard's comment is peculiarly significant. He says that Thomson's Boston interests were later confirmed to him by the Massachusetts Bay Company in exchange for his other claims in New England "to which yet he could pretend no other title than a promise, or a gift to be conferred on him, in a letter by Sir Ferdinando Gorges."[14]

The grant to Levett has previously been known only by a brief entry in the Council records.[15] The full details can be found in an indenture of which there is a copy in the Henderson Transcripts in the Museum of the Royal Institution of Cornwall at Truro.[16] From it we learn that Levett's grant was for six thousand acres of land including an island of not more than one thousand acres, not over three miles from the shore. The six thousand acres must not extend more than two miles along a river or bay. Three months after his arrival in New England Levett was to choose his land, bound it with public marks, and give notice to the Governor and Council resident in New England. Further, when the general division of New England then being planned by the Council should take place (that is, the division of 1623), Levett was to share in the land and to hold it by the same tenure as the other patentees who had like portions. Levett sold one fourth of his grant to Mathias Nichols and John Jope and they in turn sold one third of their one fourth to Alexander Grosse, John Southmead, and James Knapman. Levett came to New England in 1623, about the same time as Robert Gorges, and began a trading settlement in what is now Casco Bay. There is no record of his having received a confirmation of his Council grant and he died in 1631 while on a return voyage to England from America.[17]

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[12] *Records of the Council for New England*, 48^1.

[13] Printed in 1 *Proceedings*, XIV. 382–385.

[14] 2 *Collections*, V (Second edition, 1848) (William Hubbard, *A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX*), 105.

[15] *Records of the Council for New England*, 46 (May 5, 1623); Maine Historical Society, *Collections*, Second Series, VII (*The Farnham Papers, 1603–1688*, Mary Frances Farnham, Compiler), 73.

The third grant of this type known to have been made was that to Abraham Jennings.[18] His agent, Abraham Shurt, took possession of Monhegan Island. We do not know the terms of his grant. In 1626 Jennings sold out his store of goods there, valued at £800, to William Bradford and David Thomson. Jennings's land right became the property of Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of Bristol who bought of him. Shurt continued as their agent and in 1631 the two men received directly from the Council a grant of twelve thousand acres on the Pemaquid River and a promise of one hundred acres additional for each settler transported within seven years. Walter Neale, of Piscataqua, gave livery of seizin to Shurt, May 27, 1633.

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[16] Mr. C. K. Croft Andrew, F.S.A., published a brief note in the *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* (April, 1947), under the title "New England—4½ *d.* an Acre." Correspondence with Mr. Andrew revealed the significance of the document quoted, and he very kindly made for me a careful transcript of the text, which is printed as an appendix to this paper. I am glad to record my indebtedness to Mr. Andrew for his valuable help.

[17] See James Phinney Baxter, *Christopher Levett, of York, The Pioneer Colonist in Casco Bay* (Portland, 1893). Levett was appointed along with Thomson and Bradford to be councilors to Governor Robert Gorges in the New England Council's 1623 plan for governing New England.

[18] All the pertinent data are conveniently assembled in Charles Francis Jenney, *The Fortunate Island of Monhegan* (Worcester, 1922).

The separate origin of the Aldworth and Elbridge title to Monhegan was soon lost sight of and Pemaquid and Monhegan were considered as a single interest.

It is logical to assume that any grant to Sir Walter Erle,[19] if he did pay his £110 and if his name was included among the proposed patentees, was similar to those of Thomson, Levett, and Jennings. By inference, Erle's grant would have been six thousand acres including an island. Under such a grant, presumably, the Dorchester Fishing Company carried on its business at Cape Ann from 1623 to 1626, when it failed.

At this time, the leader there, Roger Conant, who disliked the situation, had been looking about for a more suitable place, according to Hubbard,

> secretly conceiving in his mind, that in following times (as since is fallen out) it might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign Plantation in this part of the world; of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England. Wherefore that reverend person, Mr. White, (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England,) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the Adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Mr. Conant not so to desert the business, faithfully promising that if himself, with three others, (whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, viz. John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Palfreys, employed by the Adventurers) would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a Patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men, or provision, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians.[20]

But what was the grant provided by White for Conant? Was it the Council's grant to Rosewell and others or possibly some other land right of lesser size? To attempt an answer to these questions, we must first go to the explanation given in some detail in the New England Council's "Act for the Resignation of the Charter" of 1620, April 18, 1635.

> When there were certain that desired a Patent of some Lands in the Massachusetts Bay to plant upon, who presenting the names of honest and religious men easily obteyned their first desires, but those being once gotten They used other means to advance themselves a stepp from beyond their first proporcions to a

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[19] The fact that his name was not among the twenty named in the division of 1623 means nothing since the *Records of the Council for New England*, 48^3, say specifically that there are more adventurers than the twenty who drew lots.

[20] 2 *Collections*, v (1848 edition), 107–108.

> second grant surreptitiously gotten of other Lands also, Justly past unto Captain Robert Gorges long before, who being made Governour of those parts went in person and took an absolute seizure and actuall possession of that Country by a setled plantacion he made in the Massachusetts Bay, which afterwards he left to the charge and custody of his Servants and certain other undertakers and Tenants belonging unto some of Us who were all thrust out by these Intenders that had exorbitantly bounded their grant from East to West through all that main [land] from Sea to Sea, being near about 3000 Miles in length, withall riding over the heads of all those Lords and others that had their Porcions assigned unto them in his late Majesty's presence and with his Highnes Approbacion, by Lott upon the South Coast from East to West some 80 or 100 leagues long. But herewith not yett content they laboured and obtained unknown to us, a confirmacion of all this from his Majesty and unwitting thereof, by which means they did not onely enlarge their first Extents to the west Lymits spoken of, but wholy excluded themselves from the publique Government of the Council authorized for those affairs, and made themselves a free People.[21]

This statement seems to cover three steps:

(1) a Patent of some Lands in the Massachusetts Bay to plant upon . . . [in the] names of honest and religious men.
(2) a second grant surreptitiously gotten of other Lands
(3) a confirmacion of all this from his Majesty . . . unwitting thereof . . . unknown to us.

Mrs. Rose-Troup thinks that the first step was the grant which John White promised to obtain for Conant. Her theory is that it was a small grant restricted to the area about Naumkeag. She bases her conclusion on an entry in the Council Records for June 28, 1632, desiring Mr. Saltonstall to make a "Mapp of the Lymitts of those that live at Salem and the Mattachusetts,"[22] an ambiguous reference which obviously does not preclude a single grant covering both areas. There is no reason why such a grant could not have been made, possibly similar to that which the Plymouth settlers got in 1621, and it may be that the enterprises at Naumkeag were conducted from 1626 to 1628 on a grant of this type. But the evidence is by no means conclusive. Sir Ferdinando Gorges's account does not help much to clarify the issue.

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[21] *Records of the Council for New England*, 76–77; a contemporary manuscript copy of this "Act for the Resignation of the Charter" is owned by this Society. The "[land]" is supplied in the 1867 edition of Charles Deane.

[22] *Records of the Council for New England*, 61; Rose-Troup, *John White*, 176, and *The Massachusetts Bay Company*, 53. In *John White*, Mrs. Rose-Troup has inserted a second "at" before "the Massachusetts," a slip possibly caused by her subconscious desire to prove that there were two grants instead of one.

> . . . some of the discreeter sort [of the Puritans, he means] to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Councell for the affaires of *New-England* to settle a Colony within their limits, to which it pleased the thrice-honoured Lord of *Warwick* to write to me then at *Plimouth*, to condescend that a Patent might be granted to such as then sued for it, whereupon I gave my approbation so far forth as it might not be prejudiciall to my Sonne *Robert Gorges* interests, whereof he had a Patent under the Seale of the Councell, hereupon there was a Grant passed as was thought reasonable, but the same was after enlarged by his Majesty and confirmed under the great Seale of *England*, by the Authority whereof the undertakers proceeded so effectually, that in a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in heapes. . . .[23]

It seems fairly obvious that Gorges knew little of what was going on until Warwick wrote to him and that even then he had little idea of the precise contents of the grant which Warwick caused to be issued.

We are still confronted then with the problem of identifying the "second grant surreptitiously gotten of other Lands." Was it the Rosewell patent? Mrs. Rose-Troup and Professor Andrews apparently think so. They are in agreement that the description of the Rosewell grant as given in the Massachusetts Charter is not to be taken at its face value.[24] But there are no known facts to substantiate such doubts and the attempt to answer the questions raised by them introduces more elements of confusion than it removes.[25] Certainly, the argument used by Professor Andrews that Warwick as president could not legally pass a patent alone is not pertinent to this question, for Warwick did sign alone the Muscongus patent of March 23, 1630,[26] and the Plymouth Colony patent of January 23, 1630.[27] Further, Sir Ferdinando Gorges himself brought up neither the question of accuracy nor that of legality, only the question of ethics, when he wrote his account. Of course, this fact may be due to his lack of knowledge.

Suppose one takes the Rosewell grant at its face value and considers it to be this second step. The Earl of Warwick as president of the Council did not hesitate to issue documents presumably with the assent of some other members, under the seal of the Council which he had in his possession. The Rosewell grant as he issued it could well have been based on earlier land rights which either he or the petitioners had been able to accumulate. The New England Council had been quite free in giving out such rights, subject to confirmation of course, but nevertheless rights, including those of the division of 1623. In the situation which existed in 1628, Warwick could easily have made a grant in the name of the Council to the group headed by Rosewell and it could have included all the area between the Merrimack and the Charles and three miles beyond in both directions.

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[23] Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "Briefe Narration" (1658), in James Phinney Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine* (3 volumes, Boston, 1890), II. 59–60.

[24] Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I. 357.

[25] *Ibid.*, 356–357.

[26] The original grant is owned by this Society. It is printed in *Proceedings*, II. 543–545. A facsimile is in Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Ford edition, Boston, 1912), II, op. p. 80.

[27] Maine Historical Society, *Collections*, Second Series, VII. 108–116.

The most significant evidence that this is exactly what he did is found when one examines the text of the so-called "Old Patent of Connecticut."[28] This is a simple grant from the Earl of Warwick to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke and certain associates, of all Warwick's rights to territory extending from the Narragansett River westerly or southwesterly one hundred and twenty miles and from the western ocean to the south sea. The date is March 19, 1631/2. It was on June 21, 1632, that the Council, with only Gorges and Warwick present, ordered the secretary to bring in a draft for a patent to the Earl of Warwick for land from the Narragansett River ten leagues (*thirty* miles) westward. On the twenty-sixth, the memorable day when Humfrey broke the news to the Council that the Massachusetts Bay Company had a patent from the Crown, the "rough Draught" of Warwick's patent for land *thirty* miles west of the Narragansett and *fifty* miles into the land northward, "provided that it did not prejudice any other Pattent formerly granted," was read. This was the last meeting which Warwick attended. Stirred to action by their new knowledge of what had been going on, the remaining active members met again on the twenty-eighth and the twenty-ninth of June when they "entreated" the Earl of Warwick to "direct a course for finding out what Pattents have been granted for New England" and sent their clerk to Warwick's house in an unsuccessful effort to get the Council's great seal. We hear no more of Warwick's Narragansett patent in the Council's records. It seems obvious that if Warwick had not been discovered in time the Connecticut group would have had in its possession a Council grant extending one hundred and twenty miles along the coast and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

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[28] The text is in Benjamin Trumbull, *A Complete History of Connecticut* (2 volumes, New Haven, 1818), I. 495–496. The story of the "Old Patent" is well told by R. V. Coleman in *The Old Patent of Connecticut* (Westport, Connecticut, 1936).

The parallel to the Rosewell grant is obvious but it does not end here. The "Old Patent of Connecticut" coincides in its technical phrases, with differences appropriate to the different bounds, with the Rosewell grant as given in the Massachusetts charter. The key words "given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, aliened, and confirmed" are identical in both, and in the same order. The sequence, "jurisdictions, rights, royalties, liberties, freedoms, immunities, privileges, franchises, pre-eminences, and commodities" is exactly the same in both except that the Connecticut grant has the added word "powers" after "immunities." So far as I am aware no other two grants of the Council are even approximately similar in these respects.

It seems a tenable theory, then, that Warwick gave a personal grant to the Massachusetts Bay group which transferred to them some rights which he possessed and then, as president of the Council and custodian of its seal, gave to Rosewell and the others an official Council grant confirming and even possibly enlarging it.

Additional evidence of this possibility is to be found in the entry in the Massachusetts Bay Company Records for September 29, 1629, at a time when the Company was still in England. An order reads that the secretary "wryte out a coppy of the former grant to the Erle of Warwick and others, which was by them resigned to this Company, to bee presented to his Lordship, as hee having desired the same."[29] It has been suggested that this refers to an entry in the New England Council Records of May 31, 1622, which reads, "The patents allready granted, to bee confirmed, and order is given for patents to bee drawne for the Earle of Warwicke and his Associates, The Lord Gorges, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Ferdinando Gorges."[30] There is no record that any such grant or grants were made; it is not even clear that the word "Associates" refers to the names following. The reference may be to separate grants. Certainly the use of the plural "patents" would indicate, though not prove, more than one grant.

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[29] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England,* Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Editor, (5 volumes, Boston, 1853–1854), I. 53.

[30] Andrews, *Colonial Period,* I. 356–357, among others; *Records of the Council for New England,* page 11.

Another interpretation is given by the historian John Gorham Palfrey. He asserts that the reference in the Bay Company's records is to the Earl of Warwick's share in the division of 1623. "The patentees among whom the eastern coast of New England had been partitioned six years before, surrendered their claims. I confidently put this construction on the . . . record of the meeting of the Company, September 29, 1629."[31] If Palfrey is right, the Rosewell grant merely confirmed a claim under the division of 1623. Warwick was certainly entitled to a claim under that division and it could have been on the basis of such a claim that he made to the Rosewell group a personal assignment similar to the "Old Patent of Connecticut."

We must examine, then, the division of 1623 for the light which it may throw upon our problem. Perhaps in so doing, we can show that *none* of these grants was legally defensible, and therefore explain why none of them was produced in defense of the recipient's title. In further justification for considering the division of 1623 as an important link, it should be remembered that this division is mentioned specifically in the 1635 statement of the surrender of the Council's charter as conferring the rights of those lords whose claims were overridden by Massachusetts.

The division of 1623 was made in order to answer the complaints of Council members that they did not know precisely what they could call their own and in order to induce others to join in the enterprise. It was also made in anticipation of a new charter which would conform to the ideal conditions set up by the Council's legal expert, Sir Henry Spelman, and provide for tenancy by knight service and by allowing subinfeudation. (The charter of 1620 was in free and common socage and the Statute of Quia Emptores was not waived.) In the new charter inactive councilors would be omitted and only those who paid the fees would be named. Existing settlements would not be interfered with; they would merely be subject to the jurisdiction of the lord in whose division their lands lay. The Council's general government, with headquarters in the "state county," would have over-all control as the agent of the King.

The precise problem was to fill the forty places mentioned in the original charter and presumably to be carried over into the new one.

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[31] John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England* (5 volumes, Boston, 1858–1890), I. 288*n*.

In June, 1623, there were but eleven of the original councilors still active. The other twenty-nine had neither resigned nor been forced out, though the active members did discuss calling them before the Privy Council in order to force them to surrender their rights. But no action was taken and the plan for an entirely new patent seemed to make it unnecessary. To fill the places of the inactive members, a number of new candidates had been recruited, after considerable effort, sufficient to bring the total of proposed patentees to over twenty. It was therefore decided to limit the lots drawn to twenty, but to have each slip represent two shares. Extra shares not already spoken for were to be disposed of by the drawer who had first choice of the two shares. Shares could also be exchanged in accordance with individual preferences.[32]

The lots were duly drawn in the King's presence on June 29, 1623, and among others Warwick, Sheffield, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Lord Gorges, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir William Bellasys, and Mr. Abraham Jennings became holders of two shares.[33]

Professor Andrews says that under this division "no patents were ever drawn" and makes the guess that the terms of the assignments in the division were "the same as those of 1622."[34] Actually, assignments of rights under such grants were made. One document of this character is still in existence at Newburgh Priory, Yorkshire, and it gives us much new information. Sir William Bellasys was one of those who drew a double share. He assigned his extra share to Sir Thomas Metham of Metham, County York, and so the Council made the grant of the southwest share of the sixteenth lot to Bellasys, according to his choice. Each share was ten miles in breadth and thirty miles in length, with "whatsoeuer belongeth to itt or falleth within the lymitts and precincts therof, either vpwards or downewards, lengthwise, or breadthwise together with all Jurisdiction. . . . to hold . . . for ever, Vnder such tenure, services, and reservacions as shall heerafter by a generall constitution be imposed vppon euery other of the parts and porcions of New-England, allotted . . . aforesaid AND the said Councell . . . promise that [the shareholder] . . . shalbe nominated a Councellor, and principall Pattentee vppon the next renueing or obtayning of a Pattent from his Majestie."[35] Thus we know the size of each share and its relationship to the proposed new patent.

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[32] The map in Sir William Alexander's *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), often reproduced (see Andrews, *Colonial Period,* I. 338*n.*; *Records of the Council for New England*, frontispiece), simply puts names in order of shares running west to east. The names are not on the locations involved in the first place, and the interchangeability of shares makes futile any efforts to determine location.

[33] *Records of the Council for New England,* 48^4.

[34] Andrews, *Colonial Period,* I. 337.

The Earl of Sheffield must also have received a grant of his share. A subgrant[36] which he made took the form of an indenture with Robert Cushman, Edward Winslow, and their associates of the Plymouth Colony, and gave the latter fishing privileges at Cape Ann, including five hundred acres for public purposes and thirty acres for every settler planted there with the promise of legal confirmation at any time within seven years when the actual settlement and allotment should have been made. It is dated January 1, 1623/4, and its clause acknowledging Sheffield to be the grantees' "Chief Lord" shows the conformity of this indenture with the tenure of the proposed new charter.

The land rights of the tentative "principal patentees" in the division of 1623 were of course never confirmed. Indeed, the remaining active councilors in 1635 (four in number—the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Lord Gorges, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Mason[37]) said so when they proposed to divide the coast once again into eight parts instead of forty. The failure of the councilors to get their proposed charter before the Bay Company got its royal grant was the cause of the predicament in which the participants in the division of 1623 found themselves. But there was nothing to prevent those who drew lots at that time from assuming that they *had* rights which they could assign to others.

It is probably futile to attempt to conjecture the specific combination of interests through which the Puritan group may have obtained any rights which certain of the lords concerned in the division of 1623 may have been willing to transfer. With Warwick in control of a share, with Sir Walter Erle or his assigns possibly entitled to a share, with all shares interchangeable as to location, and, above all, with some shares probably never assigned,[38] it would not have been difficult for Warwick, as president of the Council, and in possession of its seal, to assume the power to assign shares in the region of Massachusetts to Rosewell and his associates, and then to confirm the land rights in a formal Council grant. Added evidence of this situation is the fact that Sir Ferdinando Gorges recognized some flexibility in the location of grants when he wrote to Secretary Windebank, March 21, 1635, requesting new grants to patentees of territories formerly assigned to them, "either by spetiall Grants lawfully obtained, or mutuall agreement on betweene themselues."[39]

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[35] Captain V. M. Wombell, of Newburgh Priory, kindly sent the original to the Public Record Office in order that it might be photostated for my use. I am greatly indebted to him for this courtesy and to R. L. Atkinson, Esq., secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, who made this act of generosity possible. A summary of the document may be found in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Reports, Various Collections*, II. 22. It is printed in full in the appendix to this paper.

[36] Facsimile in John Wingate Thornton, *The Landing at Cape Anne* (Boston and New York, 1854), frontispiece. It is fortunate that Thornton's reputation as an antiquary does not rest upon the statements he makes in this volume.

[37] The Duke of Lennox, the Marquess of Hamilton, and the Earl of Carlisle were reinstated, and the Earl of Stirling added to make a total of eight for the final division.

It is significant that at first there were those in the Bay Company who doubted its ability to cope with the tangled situation found in its land rights. John Humfrey wrote to Winthrop on December 12, 1630, that among the disadvantages of the site chosen for the colony was the probable inability of Massachusetts to sustain its claim "in respect of the several titles and pretencions of several men."[40] These doubtless were the claims of John Oldham and Sir William Brereton, and probably others, under the Robert Gorges grant[41] which caused the company some anxious moments in its early stages.

This was understandable. The grant to Robert Gorges,[42] made obviously in anticipation of the division of 1623, gave him an area ten miles by thirty miles (the size of one of the forty shares) on the north side of Massachusetts Bay. It provided for tenure by knight service of the Council, in accordance with the projected new charter, rather than the charter of 1620 under which the tenure would have to be free and common socage and the land held of the King.[43] Surely if this grant to Robert Gorges was proved legal, the Massachusetts Bay patentees must stand accused of usurpation even if they had acquired titles to other shares from the Council.

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[38] The *Records of the Council for New England*, 48³, say, "And if any differences happen amongst the Patentees touching their shares or the devision of the land, the Councell shall have power to order and determyne the same."

[39] Baxter, *Gorges*, III. 274.

[40] *Winthrop Papers*, II (Boston, 1931), 333.

[41] *Records of the . . . Massachusetts Bay*, I. 389, 390, 398, and 399. Oldham finally came to terms with Massachusetts and accepted a grant of five hundred acres. Sir William Brereton, less contentious, had accepted a grant earlier. David Thomson's acceptance of the Massachusetts terms we have earlier seen.

[42] The patent to Robert Gorges, December 30, 1622, is printed in Baxter, *Gorges*, II. 51–54.

But was this grant legal? Were any of the titles assumed under the division of 1623 legal? Contemporaries said they were void but they failed to explain why. Cradock wrote, April 17, 1629, about the Robert Gorges grant which "wee are well satisfyed by good councell is voyde in lawe."[44] Hubbard said of the fishing right which the Pilgrims had at Cape Ann under the Sheffield indenture that it was a "useless Patent."[45] Even Sir Ferdinando Gorges, according to Humfrey's letter to Isaac Johnson, December 9, 1630, came "from verie high matters" to ask that his son's settlers be allowed to stay in Massachusetts.[46]

But no one has discussed in detail the reasons for doubting the legality of the Robert Gorges grant or of claims under the division of 1623. The solution of the problem may well be within the realm of the technicalities of English land law. The tenure by which these claimants held their lands was by knight service of the Council. The Council's charter provided for free and common socage tenure and the lands were held of the Crown. Grants of the latter type made by the Council were not challenged. But the New England Council, discouraged as its members well might be with the difficulties in which the Virginia Company of London found itself in its attempts to exploit the new world as a business enterprise, reverted as Lord Baltimore did later to a more conventional attempt to interest land holders and only secondarily members of the mercantile group. Tenure by knight service with the right of subinfeudation provided, so they thought, greater encouragement to the landed aristocracy of England. It was perhaps unfortunate that the legal adviser of the New England Council was the learned antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, who was so immersed in feudalistic lore that it has been said of him that it was he and not the Normans who introduced feudalism into England. His plan was simple in outline, as we have seen: make grants in obviously illegal tenures; they would become legal when the new patent was issued or they could be themselves replaced by other grants. In the meantime, he was confident that these grants would stand the test of law regardless of the technical question of tenures.

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[43] C. M. Andrews states erroneously that Robert Gorges held his land of the King: *Colonial Period,* I. 336.

[44] *Records of the . . . Massachusetts Bay,* I. 389.

[45] 2 *Collections,* V (1848 edition), 110.

[46] *Winthrop Papers,* II. 329. This was at the time when some interested parties were trying to persuade Winthrop to move to the South and it may be that Gorges was understandably anxious not to lose the settlers in Massachusetts who alone could make the place valuable.

The whole situation is clearly stated in "The Great Case of Defective Titles in Ireland," a test case which was raised precisely to answer the question whether the tenure of a patent was so essential a part of the grant that its illegality would render the patent itself illegal, or whether the tenure was incidental and hence the grant itself would be legal even though the tenure would not stand in law. The judges of Ireland, July 13, 1637, decided that since the tenure in the grants in question was illegal, the grants themselves were illegal. Those who defended the separateness of grants and tenures, and hence the legality of the Irish grants, quoted Selden who in turn relied upon Bracton in maintaining that tenures *in capite* came in with the Norman Conquest and hence were separate from grants themselves which were, of course, known to the Saxons. It was specifically stated that Sir Henry Spelman was wrong when he said in his *Glossarium Archaiologicum* (verbo *feodum*) that the origin of feuds in England was in the Norman Conquest.[47] Spelman himself in 1639 wrote as an answer to this case his "Origin, Growth, Propagation and Condition of Feuds and Tenures by Knight Service in England."[48]

It seems clear that the New England Council could not uphold the grants which in any way involved tenure *in capite* by knight service. Robert Gorges's grant was illegal and any specific claims under the division of 1623 were likewise illegal. If the grants "surreptitiously" acquired by the Massachusetts Puritans with Warwick's help were associated with the division of 1623, then these grants would not have been upheld in law. The Rosewell grant, as quoted in the charter, is legal in point of tenure, but if in origin it was merely an assignment of rights in the division of 1623, it would rest on a shaky foundation. If it was merely the Council's confirmation of a personal grant, like the "Old Patent" of Connecticut, it would have been a mistake to produce a document which would call attention to irregularity. The Council's own inability to produce from its own records the grants for which it was responsible shows the extent to which it was incompetent as well as the degree to which the Earl of Warwick, as president, was a faithless servant. The real complaint that the New England Council had against the Massachusetts Bay Company was that it had excluded the Council from its rightful jurisdiction in government, a jurisdiction which it was never able to show its power to exercise.

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[47] James Barry, *The Case of Tenures Upon the Commission of Defective Titles Argued by all the Judges of Ireland, With Their Resolution and the Reasons of their Resolution* (Dublin, 1637), reprinted in William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* (London, 1720), 149–228, and again in a Dublin edition of 1725, 119–192.

[48] This was not published until 1723 when it was included in a volume entitled *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ* for which Edmund Gibson supplied an explanatory introduction.

This survey has not provided a final answer to the question of the accuracy or legality of the Rosewell grant. It has attempted to put all the evidence in one sequence. There can be no doubt that the Massachusetts Bay Puritans had the practical ability to colonize Massachusetts, which the New England Council had not. They seem also to have had somewhat better legal grounds for their actions than some recent historians have been willing to admit.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to point out that if the New England Council had been able to complete its plans, the land situation in Massachusetts would have been similar to that in Maryland. In that colony the struggle of the people to get rid of the powers of the proprietor played a large part in bringing about a more democratic society in the colonial period. Massachusetts was projected much further along the road to democratic land holding by the fact that it was able at one stroke to adapt its land system to the realities of its environment, rather than to be ruled by the dying traditions of a landed aristocracy. It is a pity that a later generation of New Englanders in the eighteenth century did not so successfully rid themselves of the entanglements of New England Council grants.

Appendix

CONFIRMATION

The New England Council to Sir William Bellasys of his fortieth share in the division of New England, 1623[49]

TO ALL to whom these presents shall come. The Councell established att Plymouth in the Countye of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering, and gouerning of New-England in America sends greeting, Whereas vppon the devision of New-England aforesaid betweene the Lords and others of that Plantacon, made before the kings most excellent Majestie att Greenwich on Sondaii the Nyne and Twentieth daie of June last past, the Sixteenth parte or portion conteyning two shares of Ten Myles apeece in breadth, and Thirty Myles in length fell by lott vnto Sir William Bellasys knight, whu (as others of the said Councell in like case), being by an agreement either to nominate, and bring in a Gentleman to take one of the said two shares, or leaue the disposing therof vnto the said Councell; And himself first to chuse, which of the said two shares him best liked NOW for asmuch as the said Sir William Bellasys hath elected and chosen for hymself, the Southwest share of the said two shares, And hath nominated and brought in Sir Thomas Metham of Metham in the Countye of Yorcke knight, to accept of the Northeast share of the said two shares, KNOWE therefore that wee the said Councell for vs and our Successors doe nominate and declare the said Sir William Bellasys to be one of the said Councell; And doe heerby giue, graunt, assigne, and confirme vnto the said Sir William Bellasys knight his heyres and assignes all that said Southwest share: with whatsoeuer belongeth to itt or falleth within the lymitts and precincts therof, either vpwards or downewards, lengthwise, or breadthwise together with all Jurisdiction, Highe, and lowe Justice, Royaltyes, Rights, previledges, and imunityes both there, and elsewhere, in as large, and ample manner, as any other principall Pattentee, Councellor or Adventurer, either hath, or shall, or maye, by, from, or vnder any Graunt of his Majestie his heyres, or Successors, either made already or heerafter to be made to the said Councell or Corporation of New-England by what name soeuer, TO HAUE and to hold, the said part or portion and all other the premisses heerby graunted with their and euery of their Appurtenances to the said Sir William Bellasys knight his heyres and assignes, to his and their owne vse for ever, Vnder such tenure, services, and reservacions as shall heerafter by a generall constitution be imposed vppon euery other of the parts and porcions of New-England, allotted and devided as aforesaid AND the said Councell doe heerby agree, and promise that the said Sir William Bellasys knight shalbe nominated a Councellor, and principall Pattentee vppon the next renueing or obtayning of a Pattent from his Majestie for New-England aforesaid IN WITTNES wherof wee haue affixed our Common Seale the last daie of January, in the One, and Twentieth yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne lord James by the grace of God of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, King, defender of the Fayth etc, And of Scotland the Fiftie Seaventh.

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[49] The original document is owned by Captain V. M. Wombwell, of Newburgh Priory, Yorkshire. See note 35.

Annoque Domini, 1623[/4].

Bar[naby] Goche

Indenture

Mathias Nichols and John Jope to Alexander Grosse, John Southmead, and James Knapman of one-third of the one-fourth part of Christopher Levett's grant of six thousand Acres of land in New England.[50]

THIS INDENTURE MADE the five and twentieth day of March in the two and twentith yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord James, by the Grace of God of England Fraunce and Ireland Kinge defender of the Faith etc And of Scotland the seven and fiftieth.[51] BETWEENE Mathias Nichols Batchelor of Divinitie and Preacher of Gods Word in Plimouth in the County of Devon and John Jope of the same Towne of Plimouth Marchaunt of thon [the one] partie And Alexander Grosse Preacher of Gods Word of Plymton Saint Mary John Southmead of Moretown Hampstead gent and James Knapman of Drewstington within the foresaid County of Devon gent. of thother partie.

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[50] The New England Council grant to Levett is dated May 8, 1623; Levett's grant to Nichols and Jope is dated December 3, 1623, and Nichols and Jope's grant to Grosse, Southmead, and Knapman, March 25, 1624. Levett was in New England in the autumn of 1623. Though his account of his voyage published in 1628 says on the title page "A Voyage into New England Begun in 1623, and ended in 1624," the date of his indenture of land to Nichols and Jope would seem to indicate that he was back in England on December 3, 1623.

This copy of the indenture to Grosse, Southmead, and Knapman was made by C. K. Croft Andrew, Esq., of Truro, from volume 34 of the notes and transcripts of original documents made by Charles Henderson (1900–1933), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, at Truro. It has not been possible to ascertain the present location of the original document.

[51] James became King of Scotland on July 23, 1567, and King of England on March 24, 1602/3.

WHEREAS the Counsell established at Plimouth in the Countie of Devon for the ruling orderinge and governinge of New England in America and for and in Consideration of the Adventure of one Hundred and Ten pounds paid into the hands of their Treasurer by one Christopher Levit of Sherbourne in the Countie of Dorset esqr as also for divers other Causes and Considerations them therunto movinge by their deed under their Common Seale baringe date the eighte day of May in the one and twentieth yeare of his Majesties Raigne over England that now is Annoque Domini 1623: have for themselves and their Successours graunted unto him the said Christopher Levit his heirs and assigns full power and Authoritie upon their repaire to New England to make choise of, enter into, seize and take to the use of himself his heirs and assigns Six thousand acres of land lying together in one place after the measure of the Statute *de terris Mensurandis* togeather with all the Waters Rivers Marshes lakes Woods and Quarries with their appurtenaunces And to have and enjoy all liberties of huntinge hawkinge fishing fowling wayfes Straies Wreckes fellons goods Court Leet and Court Baron with all and Singular thappurtenances profitts and comodities whatsoever after the manner heere in England used and accustomed togeather with the patronage and advowson of all such ecclesiasticall and Church livings as shalbe hereafter erected at the proper costs and charges of the said Christopher Levitt his heires or assigns in any place within the said 6000 acres AND WHEREAS the said Counsell have also by their deed given full power and authoritie to the said Christopher Levit his heires and assignes to make and ordaine laws and orders for the well and civill government of all such people as shall at any time hereafter dwell or inhabitie within the said six thowsand acres Provided alwaies the said lawes and orders by the said Christopher Levit his heires and assigns from time to time to be established be not contrarie to the lawes of England now established nor extend to punish any one with losse of life or member nor that the said Six Thousand

Acres by the said Christopher Levitt to be elected within the lymitts heertofore graunted to or allready planted by some other of the English nor the porcon appoynted for the State Countie (that is to say) about the Ryver of Sagadahoc being betweene the degrees of 43 and 44 nor doe extend itself alonge the Sea Coast Shore above two English Miles and alonge the banke of a Navigable River or Bay above two English Miles And if it shall happen that there shalbe any Ilands in the River or Bay where the said Christopher Levit shall settle his Plantation then it shalbe lawful for the said Christopher Levit to make Choyce of one Iland within the said River as part of his said Six Thousand Acres Provided alwaies that the said Iland be not above three English Miles from the Shoare nor containing more in quantitie than one Thowsand acres

And the said Christopher Levit his heires and assigns shall within three moneths after their Arivall make Choyce of the said Six Thowsand Acres of land and bownd the same out with publike markes and give notice thereof unto the Governour and Counsell thear resident And that he, his heires Tenaunts and Followers shalbe subject to all the Acts of the generall Courts for New England heerafter made or to be made And Further whereas the said Counsell by their deed for them and their Successoures have Covenanted and graunted to and with the said Christopher Levit his heires and assigns that when the Generall Division of New England shalbe made that then the said Christopher Levit his heires and assigns shall have as large a portion and share of land both in the State County and else where in New England as any other Patentee which hath or shall pay noe more than one hundred and Ten pownds with such privilidges Jurisdictions and Immunities as any other of the said Counsell hath or shall have And the foresaid Six Thowsand Acres to be deducted out of his share of the Mayne land and be held by the same service that other Patentees (that) have porcons of the like nature as in and by the said recited deed amongst other things therein comprised it doth and may more playnelie appeare

AND WHEREAS the said Christopher Levit by his deed Indented bearing date the third of december in the one and twentith yeare of his Majesties Raigne over England that nowe is aswell for and in consideration of the furtherance of the said Plantation in New England in America aforesaid established and for the better performing the [one-half inch blank] and in consideration of the summe of Thirtie and Five pounds of lawfull monie of England unto him the said Christopher Levit by the above names Mathias Nicholls and John Jope before hand paid as also for divers other good causes and consideration him the said Christopher Levit therunto especially moving HATH GIVEN graunted and confirmed unto the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope and to their heires and assigns aswell the one full fowerth part of the said Six Thousand acres of land together with the full fowerth part of all the foresaid Waters rivers Marishes lakes woods and Quarries with their appurtenances and of all liberties of hunting hawking fishing fowling wayfes straies wrecks fellons goods Court Leet and Court Baron and all and singular their appurtenances profits and comodities whatsoever after the manner heer in England used and accustomed togeather with the full fowerth part or quarter of the Patronage and Advowson of all such Ecclesasticall and Church Livings as shalbe heerafter erected by the said Christopher Levit his heires and assigns in any place within the said six Thousand acres AND WHEREAS ALSO the said Christopher Levit for the considerations aforesaid hath likewise Given and Graunted unto the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope and their heires and assignes for ever the full fowerth part of such porcon and share of land both in the State Countie and elsewhere in New England as shalbe heereafter allotted and of right belonging unto him as a Pattentee of New England together with such priviledges Jurisdictions and Immunities unto the said fowerth part of the said porcon and share of land belonging or in any wise appertaining togeather with full power and authoritie to make and ordayne lawes and orders for the well and civill government of all such people as shall at any time heerafter dwell or inhabitie in the premises or any part thereof graunted by the said recited deed and also the prerogatives rightes royalties Jurisdictions and all other privilidges fraunchises and immunities and all other dueties and appurtenaunces whatsoever therunto belonging or appertayning and all the estate right title Interest Clayme and demaund whatsoever which he the said Christopher Levit and his heires then had or ought to have or at any time hereafter might have in or to the said fowerth parte by the said deed graunted or to any part or parcell therof and in as large and ample manner to all intents and constructions whatsoever as the said Christopher Levit then had the same or as he his heires or assignes at any time heerafter should or might have the said premisses by the said resited deed graunted or intended to be graunted by the said deed or by any other meanes whatsoever as in and by the said deed more at large it doth and may appeare NOW WITNESSETH that the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope aswell for and in consideration of the furtherance of the said Plantation and for the consideration of the some of Eleven pounds therteene shillings and fower pence of lawfull English mony unto them the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope beforehand paid as also for divers other causes and considerations them therunto especially moving HAVE ABSOLUTELY GIVEN graunted and confirmed and by these presents doe give graunte and confirme unto the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead and James Knapman their heires and assignes for ever the Therd part of on full fowerth part of the said Six Thousand Acres of land together with the full therd part of the fowerth part of all the foresaid waters rivers marishes lakes woods and Quarries with their Appurtenances and of all liberties of hunting hawking fishing fowling wayfes straies wrecks fellons goods Court Leet and Court Baron and all and singular their appurtenances profitts and Comodities whatsoever after the manner heere in England used and accustomed together with the therd part of the fourth part of the Patronage and Advowseon of all such ecclesasticall and Church Livings as shalbe heerafter erected by the said Christopher Levitt his heires and assigns in any place within the above said Six Thousand Acres AND ALSO the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope for the considerations aforesaid have likewise given and graunted and by these presents doe give and graunt unto the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead and James Knapman and to their heirs and assigns for ever the Therd part of the fowerth part of such porcon and share of land both in the State Countie and elsewher in New England as shalbe heerafter at any time assigned unto the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope or either of them their heirs or assigns of right belonging unto them or either of them their heires or assigns by vertue of the fore recited deed made unto them by the said Christopher Levit Together with all such privilges Jurisdictions and Immunities unto the said Therd part of the said fowerth part of the said porcon and share of land belonging or appertaining together with full power and authoritie to make and ordeyne lawes and orders for the well and civill government of all such people as shall at any time heerafter dwell or inhabite in the premisses or any part therof graunted by the said last recited deed and also the prerogatives Rights Royalties and all other dueties and appurtenances what soever therunto belonging or appertayning and all the estate Right Title Interest Claim and demand whatsoever which they the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope and their heires now have or ought to have or at any time heerafter may have in or to the said Therd part of the said fourth part by these presents graunted or to any part or parcell therof and in as large ample and beneficiall manner to all intents Constructions and purposes whatsoever as they the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope or either of them now have the same or as they their heires or assigns at any time heerafter shall or may have the said premisses by these presents Graunted or ment or intended to be graunted by vertue of the said recited Graunt or by any other waie or meanes whatsoever TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said Therd part of the fourth part of the said Six thousand Acres of land and of all and singuler other the premisses heerby given and graunted or heerby menconed ment or intended to bee given or graunted with all and singulaer their appurtenances unto the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead James Knapman and of their heires and assigns for ever more To be holden by the same service that other Patentees having porcons of the like nature [the rest of this clause is apparently omitted] And the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope for themselves their heires executores administrators and assigns [and] for every of them doe covenant promise and graunt to and with the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead and James Knapman their heires and assigns and every of them shall and may immediately after thensealing and delivery of these presents f . . . [gap in text. Missing words may be "from Henceforth and"] for ever heerafter peaceably and quietly have hold posesse and enjoy all and singular the premisses by these presents graunted or ment or intended to be thereby graunted and every part and parcell therof without any let disturbance deniall trouble interruption or [gap in text. The missing word may be "eviction" or "vexation"] . . . ion of or by the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope their heires or assigns or of or by the said Christopher Levit his heires or assigns or of or by the said Counsell for New England or by any other person or persons what soever clayming from by or under them or either of them AND also that they the said Mathias Nicols and John Jope have at the sealing and delivery of these presents full power and lawfull authoritie in their owne right to give and graunte the said Premisses by these presents graunted and every part therof unto the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead and James Knapman and to their heires and assignes for ever in manner and forme aforesaid AND that they the said Mathias Nicolls and John Jope their heires and assigns shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter upon reasonable request to be made to them or either of them by the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead and James Knapman or any of them their or any of their heires or assigns doe make performe and execute any such further Act or Acts demise or demises assurance or assurances in the law whatsoever for the better assuring Convaying and sure making of all and singuler the said premisses with their appurtenances hereby mecioned ment or intended to be given and graunted in manner and forme aforesaid to them the said Alexander Grosse John Southmead and James Knapman and to their heires and assigns for ever according to the true intent and meaning of these presents as by the said Alexander Grosse James Southmead and James Knapman their heires or assigns or by either or any of them or by his or their Counsell learned in the lawe and at his or their proper costes and charges shalbe reasonably demised [*sic.* Word should be "deuised"] advised or required

IN WITNESSE wherof the parties abovesaid to these presents their handes and seales interchaungeably have sett Yeven the day and yeare first above written Anno Domini 1624

[Sketched facsimiles] MATHIAS NICOLLS JNO JOPE

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of us whose names
are subscribed

[Sketched facsimiles] RICHARD TAPPER. EMANUELL HELIER [?]

[?Endorsement] The Conveyance for the land in NEW ENGLAND

The Significance and Influence of the Cambridge Platform of 1648

HENRY WILDER FOOTE[1]

THE *Platform of Church Discipline* framed by the Synod in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1648, and known in history as "The Cambridge Platform," was a document issued on behalf of the little group of New England churches which the colonists had "gathered" since the settlement at Plymouth in 1620, at Salem in 1628, and at Boston in 1630. The purpose of the Synod was, on the one hand, to protect the churches from interference by unfriendly authorities in England and, on the other, to formulate for them a common church polity based on Scripture. The points at issue may seem too remote to be of any interest today, yet the Cambridge Platform laid down certain vital principles which have had so profound an influence in the development of American thought, political as well as religious, that it is well worth while to take note of them in this year which marks its three-hundredth anniversary.

The Puritans who settled the Massachusetts Bay Colony brought with them the germinal seeds of thought which came to fruition in the Platform, although at the time of their emigration they certainly did not foresee with any clearness the course of action which they would be led to pursue. With perhaps a few exceptions, they had not belonged to any of the feeble and scattered groups of Independents in England, whose views were based on the writings of Henry Barrowe, published about 1590, for which the author had been most unjustly executed in 1593. Still less did the Puritans agree with the Separatists, of whom the most famous today are the group which had escaped to Holland and had thence emigrated to Plymouth. The Puritans when they left England did so as members of the Church of England, although of that party within the church unwilling to conform to what they considered "corruptions" in its form of worship and of government.

Two well-known utterances at the time of sailing illustrate their attitude. The first is found in the account of the Reverend Francis Higginson's farewell to England. When the ship on which he had sailed from the Isle of Wight on May 1, 1629, passed Land's End, he called the passengers together on the poop of the ship and told them, "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell Babylon, farewell Rome,' but we will say, 'Farewell dear England, farewell the church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!' We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America." And when, after their arrival in Salem, Higginson and his colleague, Samuel Skelton, were questioned by John Endecott, they replied "that they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, that they were not separating from the Church of England, or from the ordinances of God therein, but only from the corruptions and disorders which had sprung up in that church of recent years."

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[1] This paper was read at the March, 1948, meeting.

The second, and more authentic and adequate, statement is *The Humble Request*, written on board the *Arbella* at Yarmouth and signed by John Winthrop and six other leading men of his company on April 7, 1630, the eve of their sailing. It was sent up to London and printed after their departure. Its authorship has been traditionally ascribed to the Reverend John White, of Dorchester, England, who did not himself come to this country, but the presumption is strong that it was drafted by the Reverend George Phillips, one of the signers, who served as chaplain on the *Arbella* and became the first minister of Watertown, Massachusetts.[2]

The Humble Request is a moving plea for understanding and spiritual fellowship, addressed to those in England who were disposed to criticize the motives and intentions of the emigrants. It said,

> . . . we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteeme it our honour, to call the *Church* of *England*, from whence wee rise, our deare Mother, and cannot part from our native Country, where she specially resideth, without much sadnes of heart, and many teares in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as wee have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breasts: wee leave it not therfore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body shall alwayes rejoyce in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, syn-

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[2] H. W. Foote, "George Phillips, First Minister of Watertown," *Proceedings*, LXIII. 193–227.

> cerely desire and indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare. . . . It is an usuall and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your Congregations the necessities and straights of your private neighbours; Doe the like for a Church springing out of your owne bowels. . . . You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle *Paul* to make continuall mention of the Church of *Philippi* (which was a Colonie from *Rome*) let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weake Colony from yourselves) making continuall request for us to God in all your prayers. . . . when wee shall be in our poore Cottages in the wildernesse, over-shadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us.[3]

That some in England responded to the *Humble Request* with sympathy and understanding is, perhaps, indicated by the noted lines,

Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand,

in one of the poems by George Herbert, who settled in Bemerton during the month in which the *Arbella* sailed, and into whose hands a copy of the *Humble Request* might easily have come.[4]

These quotations illustrate the attitude of the earliest Puritan emigrants toward the Church of England. No doubt they intended the churches which they were to establish in the wilderness to represent a purified form of the Church of England whose "corruptions" they had left behind, yet they would also be new and independent organizations, like those gathered by the Apostle Paul, and would be framed on the pattern found in Scripture, the only authority which they recognized. Being outside England, these churches would not be subject to episcopal control or to patronage, for neither of which was any warrant to be found in the primitive church. Each local church would be a complete and autonomous unit, subject only to "the mind of Christ" as revealed to the "saints" who made up its membership.

This conception of what constitutes a true church was based on their interpretation of the New Testament. Though it owed something to the writings of Henry Barrowe, it perhaps had taken no very definite shape in their minds before their arrival in Massachusetts Bay. Hubbard says of them, "Concerning the way and manner of their first covenanting together, and entering into church fellowship one with another, it doth not appear that these were, like those of New Plymouth, aforehand moulded into any order, or form of church government; but [they] were honest minded men, studious of reformation, that only had disliked some things in the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, but were not precisely fixed upon any particular order or form of government, but, like *rasa tabula*, fit to receive any impression that could be delineated out of the Word of God, or vouched to be according to the pattern in the Mount, as they judged."[5] But as soon as they landed they were confronted with the practical necessity of setting up an organized church with an acceptable minister in each new settlement. In the urgency of their situation, remote from England and free from ecclesiastical control, they threw into the discard the traditional patterns of church order which had prevailed for so many centuries in Europe and used their freedom to frame a new one.

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[3] *The Hvmble Reqvest of his Maiesties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone for Nevv-England* (London, 1630), 3–10.

[4] George Herbert, *The Temple. Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (London, 1835): "The Church Militant," 210. When, after Herbert's death in 1633, his poems were submitted to be licensed for publication, the Vice-Chancellor demanded the excision of these two lines, but finally let them pass, saying that he knew that Herbert "was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him for an inspired prophet": Izaak Walton, "The Life of Mr. George Herbert," in *The Remains of that Sweet Singer of the Temple, George Herbert* (London, 1836), lxxviii.

Their course was influenced in quite unforeseen ways by the example of Plymouth. The Pilgrims represented the extreme left wing of English Puritanism. They believed that Church and State were separate realms, that the civil ruler had no authority over spiritual affairs. They held "that every true visible church is a company of people called and separated from the world by the Word of God, and joyned together by voluntarie profession of the Faith of Christ," and "that every church hath power . . . to chuse and take unto themselves meet and sufficient persons in the offices and Functions of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons . . . and that no Anti-Christian Hierarchie . . . of Popes, Archbishops, Lord-Bishops . . . nor any such like [should] be set over the Spouse and Church of Christ." Seeing that it was impossible to hope for such reforms as these within the Church of England, they had separated themselves from it.

Now the Puritan group who settled at Salem in 1628 had brought with them from their homes not only their repugnance to Separatism but their distrust of Plymouth, against whose religious and economic radicalism they had been warned. On their arrival, however, they soon found the Pilgrims to be helpful and sympathetic neighbors, who, though few in numbers and weak in resources, had successfully overcome the difficulties of settling in the wilderness. Friendship between them speedily sprang up, so that these two colonies, which might have been at swords' points, finally blended under civil rule, and developed New England Congregationalism.

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[5] 2 *Collections*, v (Second edition, 1848) (William Hubbard, *A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX*), 117.

This reconciliation was primarily the work of one man, Samuel Fuller, a clothmaker of London, who had been ordained deacon in the church at Leyden as early as 1611. He studied medicine, very likely at the University there. He came over in the *Mayflower* and was of great service as physician and surgeon of the little colony. He was a tender-hearted, devout man, evidently much beloved. In the winter of 1628–1629 the newly landed colonists at Salem were severely stricken with scurvy brought on by the unwholesome salt meat which was their principal diet. In his distress Governor John Endecott wrote to William Bradford at Plymouth for aid, and Dr. Samuel Fuller was sent to tend the sick. His ministering care and wisdom benefited more than the bodies of the afflicted Puritans, for he seems effectually to have cured them of their prejudice regarding Plymouth. In May, 1629, Endecott wrote again to Bradford a letter which, as Bradford says, "shows the beginning of their acquaintance." But it shows also a marked change in the attitude of the Puritans. Their sufferings had called forth the charity of the broad-minded Pilgrim, whose own experiences of the first winters at Plymouth had made him a wise and trustworthy counsellor. Many a night, after the last patient had been bled, the Pilgrim doctor must have talked with Endecott before the fire while the northeast wind drifted the snow about the cabins at Salem. The Puritans melted before the glow of his loving service. By day this good Samaritan had bound up the strangers' wounds, and at night he found that their differences had faded away with the misconception and prejudice of which they were born. The winter's acquaintance brought new light to Endecott, who wrote to Bradford:

RIGHT WORTHY SIR:

IT is a thing not usuall, that servants to one m[aste]r and of the same houshold should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods people are all marked with one and the same marke, and sealed with one and the same seale, and have for the maine, one and the same harte, guided by one and the same spirite of truth; and wher this is, ther can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie. . . . I acknowledge my selfe much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward forme of Gods worshipe. It is, as farr as I can yet gather, no other then is warrented by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have proffessed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercie revealed him selfe unto me; being farr from the commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler. . . . I shall not neede at this time to be tedious unto you, for, God willing, I purpose to see your face shortly. In the mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, commiting you to the Lords blessed protection, and rest,

Your assured loving friend,
Jo: Endecott.[6]

Thus in a few short weeks, the kindly service of the Plymouth doctor laid a firm basis of Christian charity upon which the two colonies could happily unite.

The seed which Fuller sowed took root immediately, and when in August of the same year Higginson and Skelton were ordained over the Salem Church, delegates from Plymouth arrived in time to give the right hand of fellowship. Already the Salem Church had adopted what were practically Separatist principles. As the Puritans founded new settlements at Boston and Charlestown and Watertown, they organized their churches on the Salem model, and from 1629 on the subtle but strong influence of little Plymouth largely molded the Puritan church order.

Like the Pilgrims, the Puritans held that any group of people living in the same community and agreeing to walk together in seeking to do the will of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, constituted a true church. No authorization by pope or prelate or synod was necessary. All but one or two of the ministers who came to New England with the first migration were graduates of Cambridge University, and Cambridge had long been a center for the party seeking a more thoroughgoing reformation of the Church of England, the party there first nicknamed "Puritans." Thomas Cartwright, who had been appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1570, had not long after been silenced for publicly maintaining, among other advanced ideas, "that ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and fairly chosen by the people."[7] It is not surprising, therefore, that the New England clergy held that each congregation alone had the right to choose and ordain its own minister. The bond which united a congregation was a simple covenant which the members signed. It was not a creed, which was unnecessary, for practically all English Protestants at that period were Calvinists. Nevertheless the adoption of a covenant, which was only an agreement to unite in a common purpose, rather than a creed as the basis for church membership, was a significant step since it did not bind the members to a fixed, unchanging form of belief, but gave room for at least minor differences, and in practice opened the way for changing ideas with the passing decades.

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[6] William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston, 1912), II. 90–92.

[7] John Waddington, *Congregational History, 1567–1700* (London, 1874), 3.

The conviction of the Puritans that the right to call and to ordain a minister belonged to the church members confronted them with a problem as soon as their new churches were gathered. All the ministers who had come with them from England had been duly ordained in the Church of England. The question arose whether that ordination was valid in the new world or whether re-ordination was required before they took charge of their new parishes. That depended on the conception of authority which ordination conferred. The doctrine of the priesthood which the Church of England had inherited from the Church of Rome taught that ordination conferred a mystical and indelible character on the priest which for ever set him apart from the rest of mankind and qualified him to serve in his priestly capacity wherever occasion called. But this was one of the "corruptions" which the Puritans sought to leave behind them. They disliked the implications of the word "priest," and used the word "minister" instead. They had come to believe in the representative character of the ministry, that a minister should be ordained only to serve the congregation which had called him, and that he held ministerial status only in that parish while he served it. They compared the ordination of a minister over a parish to the solemn installation of a civil magistrate in office.

This doctrine seemed to require the emigrant ministers to renounce the ordination which they had previously received in the Church of England, which most of them, if not all, were reluctant to do. They met this dilemma with a compromise. On August 27, 1630, when the Reverend John Wilson was chosen "teacher" of the newly organized First Church in Boston, Governor Winthrop wrote, "We, of the congregation, . . . used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."[8] This solution of their problem, which seems to have been followed in the case of other ministers in a similar situation, was analogous to the later Congregational practice of installing in a parish a minister who had previously been ordained as the minister of another church.

The gathering of an autonomous church in each new settlement, united by a convenant which all the members signed, and free to elect and ordain a minister of its own choosing, was the first practical step to meet the immediate need of their situation, but the Puritans as yet lacked a well-formulated doctrine of church order by which their proceedings could be defended against critics here in New England or in the mother country. It was the need of such formulation which led to the writing of the Cambridge Platform only eighteen years after the landing in Boston. The political pressures exerted from England made such action urgent, but it is interesting to note the way in which the thought of the colonists moved toward that result.

The Reverend John Cotton is rightly regarded as the chief exponent of what soon came to be called "the New England way," especially in his most important treatise, *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644), in which he carefully described the procedure followed by the New England churches, defending it at every point with Scripture references. But the Reverend George Phillips, who, as already noted, presumably wrote *The Humble Request*, had reached Boston three years ahead of Cotton and had already advocated and put into practice the fundamental principles which Cotton later set forth in detail. William Hubbard, in his *General History of New England*, wrote of him, "It is said that Mr. Phillips of Watertown was, at the first, more acquainted with the way of church discipline, since owned by Congregational churches; but being then without any to stand by him, (for wo to him that is alone,) he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who, by his preaching and practice, did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form which Mr. Phillips labored to have introduced into the churches before."[9] And Cotton Mather, in his eulogistic but rather inadequate sketch of Phillips, notes that "Mr. Philips being better acquainted with the True *Church-Discipline* [he means the Congregational polity], than most of the Ministers that came with him into the Country, their [*i.e.* the Watertown congregation's] Proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their *Church*, were *Methodical* enough, though not made in all things a *Pattern* for all the rest."[10]

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[8] John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649* (Boston, 1853), I. 36–39.

[9] 2 *Collections*, v (1848 edition), 186.

As indicated by these writers, certain episodes in Phillips's ministry at Watertown, while not important in themselves, are significant as illustrating how one of the most independent and broad-minded ministers in the colony was seeking to give effect to the new form of church order. Phillips's pastorate over the Watertown congregation began with the signing of the church covenant, which he presumably had drafted, at Charlestown, on July 30, 1630, before the settlement at Watertown was actually started, and lasted until his death in July, 1644. The covenant was an unusually long one, beginning with a recital of the circumstances in which they had come hither, and ending with "*a sure Covenant* with the Lord our God, and before him with one another . . . to Renounce all *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, . . . [to] give our selves wholly unto the Lord Jesus, to do him faithful Service, observing and keeping all his Statutes, Commands, and Ordinances, in all Matters concerning our *Reformation*; . . . and in the Carriage of . . . one towards another, as he hath prescribed in his Holy *Word*. Further swearing to cleave unto *that* alone, and the true Sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our Power, as unto the most clear *Light* and infallible *Rule*, and All-sufficient *Canon*, in all things that concern us in this our Way."

Not six months later Phillips and Richard Brown, his teaching elder, stirred up so hot a controversy by publicly stating that they regarded "the churches of Rome as true churches," that the following July (1631) Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Mr. Nowell, and the elders of the Boston church went out to Watertown to take part in an all-day debate on the subject before many of the two congregations. In view of the fact that the nearest Roman Catholics were the French in Quebec and the Spaniards in Florida the matter under debate seems a trifle academic, but the assembly took it seriously and voted that Phillips was in error.

The following December the Watertown church was again in turmoil about the fitness for his position of Richard Brown, the teaching elder, and "a man of very violent spirit." At the request of both parties, Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell again went to Watertown, where the governor told the assembled congregation that he and his associates might proceed either as magistrates, whose assistance had been asked, or as members of a neighboring congregation, called upon for advice. Whereupon Phillips asked them to take part as members of a neighboring congregation only. Clearly he wished to establish no precedent for interference by civil magistrates with the right of the church to pass upon the fitness of its ministers.

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[10] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), Book III. 82.

Two other minor episodes illustrate the logical extreme to which Phillips carried his doctrine of the autonomy of each local church. When the church at Newtowne (Cambridge) was gathered in February, 1636, and settled Thomas Shepard as minister, the neighboring churches were invited "to send their elders and messengers [delegates] to assist; and all did so except Watertown, where Master Phillips insisted that every church was competent to act alone."[11] And when in December, 1640, the Reverend John Knowles was ordained as Phillips's co-pastor Governor Winthrop recorded the event in his Journal as follows:

> The church of Watertown ordained Mr. Knolles, a godly man and a prime scholar, pastor, and so they had now two pastors and no teacher, differing from the practice of the other churches, as also they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighboring churches, nor to the magistrates, as the common practice was.[12]

These episodes in a single parish, petty enough in themselves, have historical value as illustrating the theory of church order which one of the earliest advocates of New England Congregationalism was seeking to establish—the complete autonomy of each church as a distinct ecclesiastical body; the relationship to other churches limited to friendly counsel and advice; the representative character of the ministry; and the freedom of the church from control by civil magistrates, as far as church matters were concerned. Phillips published nothing in his lifetime, but in 1645, after his death, a pamphlet written by him in answer to an attack was printed in London under the title *A Reply to a Confutation of some grounds for Infants Baptisme: as also, Concerning the form of a Church*, in which he set forth his views. This pamphlet is now extremely rare and is almost unknown to scholars except for quotations from it by other contemporary writers. The opinions expressed were essentially the same as those stated by his more famous contemporaries, John Cotton in his *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, and Thomas Hooker in *A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline* (1648).

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[11] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), 112.

[12] Winthrop, *History of New England*, II. 21–22.

Such was the movement of thought among the leading colonists, but its definitive formulation might have been long postponed had they not been spurred to action by the threat of interference from England, where many looked with strong disapproval upon the independent spirit of the New England churches. "Independency," it was said, "shelters a herd of heresies." It also seemed dangerously democratic, and the English authorities rightly feared lest complete independence in the churches might foster increased independence in political action. The Long Parliament had abolished Episcopacy in 1642 and established Presbyterianism in England, and now threatened to extend its control to the New England churches. But most of the New England colonists were as strongly opposed to Presbyterianism with its authoritative hierarchy as to Episcopacy. It is perhaps unlikely that the members of the Cambridge Synod which met from 1646 to 1648 were acquainted with John Milton's sonnet "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament" written in 1646, in which he, as an Independent, bitterly attacked those who sought to presbyterianize England; but the pregnant line with which he closed the sonnet,

> New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large,

exactly expressed their own views.

Two formal inquiries about the polity of the New England churches had been received to which it seemed necessary that a more authoritative reply should be made than that of a single individual, even though he had John Cotton's standing. The second of these inquiries had come from the Commission on Plantations, appointed in 1643 by Parliament, then controlled by the Presbyterians, to supervise the Colonies, with authority to remove "subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers and agents." The inquiry asked for information as to nine positions, and answers to thirty-two questions. The necessity for a very careful reply was obvious. Cotton Mather, writing half a century later, put it very mildly when he said that the time had come when it was "convenient, [that] the Churches of *New-England* should have a *System* of their *Discipline*, extracted from the Word of God, and exhibited unto them, with a more effectual, acknowledged and established Recommendation: And nothing but a *Council* was proper to compose the *System*."[13] It was this need, made urgent by the impending threat of Presbyterianism, which led the General Court in May, 1646, to invite a Synod to meet in the College in Cambridge and to prepare a confession of faith and a defense of the Congregational polity which would satisfy the critics that the New England churches had not embarked on a dangerous course. Out of deference to public opinion that the civil authority had no control over the action of the churches, the General Court merely "desired" them to send their elders and "messengers" to the Synod.

The Synod got off to a slow start in September, 1646. The minister from Concord was absent, because of illness. The minister from Hingham did not come, because he inclined to Presbyterianism. Boston and Salem held back for a time, apparently fearing that the Synod might assume undue control, but presently yielded. The churches in the other three New England colonies—Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut (that is, Windsor and Hartford in the Connecticut Valley)—which had already (1643) formed a loose confederation with the Bay Colony, were invited to take part on a basis of equality, and did so.[14] Seldom has so small a body of Christians as were the New England colonists been represented by a clerical body of such fine quality of intelligence and character, nor by one charged with a weightier or more delicate task of safeguarding the religious and civil liberty of the community. John Higginson and William Hubbard, looking back, in a period of decline in church life half a century later, to the outstanding men whom they had known in their youth, could write of them with pardonable exaggeration,

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[13] Mather, *Magnalia,* Book v. 21.

[14] The Synod apparently kept no record of the elders and messengers attending its sessions, nor of its proceedings, aside from the completed *Platform,* and no surviving diaries or letters report its day-by-day discussions. The earliest, but very inadequate account of the Synod is found in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia,* fifty years later. By 1648 at least fifty churches had been gathered in the four Colonies. The newest ones, however, were still small and weak, and in places so remote that to reach Cambridge required a long and arduous journey. It is probable that few of them were represented. In various sources the following ministers are mentioned as having attended one or more, and some of them all three sessions of the Synod: John Allin, Dedham; Thomas Cobbett, Lynn; John Cotton, Boston; Richard Mather, Dorchester; Edward Norris, Salem; John Norton, Ipswich; Ralph Partridge, Duxbury; Ezekiel Rogers, Rowley; Thomas Shepard, Cambridge; Samuel Stone, Hartford; and William Tompson, Braintree. It will be observed that all of them, except Stone, of Hartford, were ministers of churches within a day's ride of Cambridge. The names of only two "messengers" are recorded. Deacon Edward Stebbins, of Hartford, accompanied his minister to the first session: George Leon Walker, *History of the First Church in Hartford, 1633–1883* (Hartford, 1884), 113–115; and Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, is reported to have attended the second session.

> We that saw the Persons, who from Four Famous Colonies, Assembled in the *Synod*, that agreed on our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, cannot forget their Excellent Character. They were Men of Great Renown in the Nation, from whence the *Laudian Persecution* Exiled them; their Learning, their Holiness, their Gravity, struck all men that knew them with Admiration. They were *Timothies* in their Houses, *Chrysostomes* in their Pulpits, *Augustines* in their Disputations. The *Prayers*, the *Studies*, the Humble *Enquiries*, with which they sought after the mind of God, were as likely to prosper as any mens upon Earth. And the *Sufferings* wherein they were *Confessors* for the Name and the Truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, add unto the Arguments which would perswade us, that our Gracious Lord would Reward and Honour them, with Communicating much of His truth unto them.[15]

For about a fortnight the Synod discussed the problems before it, then asked John Cotton of Boston, Richard Mather of Dorchester, and Ralph Partridge of Duxbury each "to draw up a Scriptural *Model of Church-Government*," and adjourned to meet again on June 8, 1647. This second meeting, at which Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, was a "messenger," sat but ten days and dispersed because of a widespread epidemic of illness of which many persons died, among them the Reverend Thomas Hooker of Hartford and Governor Winthrop's wife. The Synod reassembled in the College on August 15, 1648, for its third and final session, and in ten days finished its labors. On the opening day, while Mr. Allin of Dedham was preaching a learned and godly sermon, a snake wriggled along the floor where some of the elders sat behind the preacher. Reverend William Tompson of Braintree put his foot on it and killed it, and the incident was interpreted as a happy omen of the way in which the Synod would overthrow Satan.

Of the three drafts for a platform which were submitted that of Richard Mather found most favor, and was accepted in substance. In the two and a quarter years since the invitation to meet had been issued by the General Court the political situation had been greatly eased. Cromwell, himself an Independent, had dismissed the Parliament dominated by Presbyterians. His army now controlled the Commonwealth, and the danger to the New England churches was lessened. The Westminster Confession had been published, and copies had reached the colonies. Since it gave authoritative expression to the theology accepted by the New England churches it relieved them of the necessity of formulating a confession of their own, and offered them a welcome opportunity to point out their unity with their English brethren in "matters of faith." In their Preface to the Platform they wrote,

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[15] John Higginson and William Hubbard, *A Testimony, to the Order of the Gospel, in the Churches of New-England* (Boston, 1701), 4–5.

> This Synod having perused, and considered (with much gladness of heart, and thankfullness to God) the confession of faith published of late by the Reverend Assembly in England, doe judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith: and doe therfore freely and fully consent therunto, for the substance therof. Only in those things which have respect to church government and discipline, . . . agreed upon by this present assembly. . . . *but in meekness of wisdom, as wee walk along with them, and follow them, as they follow Christ: so where wee conceiv a different apprehention of the mind of Christ* (*as it falleth out in some few points touching church-order*) *wee still reserve due reverence to them* (*whom wee judge to be, through Christ, the glorious lights of both nations:*) *and only crave leave* (*as in spirit wee are bound*) *to follow the Lamb withersoever he goeth.*[16]

When we recall that the whole controversy with the English authorities who had sought to presbyterianize the New England churches had been over the question of church order, and not at all on matters of doctrine, it is obvious that the Synod was very tactfully playing up the points of agreement with the Westminster Assembly, and minimizing the points of difference, without surrendering an inch. Never was a declaration of independence couched in more irenic phrases, but it was none the less a declaration of independence.

The Synod proceeded to formulate carefully a system of church discipline which should regularize the polity of the New England churches, fortifying every step with texts from Scripture. The result was "a terse, clear, and well-balanced summary of the general system which had been already outlined in the treatises of the New England Elders. . . . Portions of it strongly resemble the exact language of one or other" of them.[17]

The Synod disapproved of the term "Independent" as applied to their churches, because in England it was loosely used to cover what John Cotton called those "corrupt sects and heresies which showed themselves under the vast title of Independency," and used the term "Congregational" instead, saying, "A Congregational-church, is by the institution of Christ a part of the Militant-visible-church, consisting of a company of Saints by calling, united into one body, by a holy covenant, for the publick worship of God, and the mutuall edification one of another, in the Fellowship of the Lord Jesus." (Chapter II. 6.)

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[16] *A Platform of Church Discipline* (Cambridge, 1649), [2].

[17] Henry Martyn Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature* (New York, 1880), 438.

Church officers were to be freely elected by the church members, since "the *choyce* of such Church-officers belongeth not to the civil-magistrates, as such, or diocesan-bishops, or patrones," (Chapter IIX [VIII], 9) and "*ordination* wee account nothing else, but the solemn putting of a man into his place and office in the Church wherunto he had right before by election, being like the installing of a magistrat in the common wealth. Ordination therefore is not to go before, but to follow *election*." (Chapter IX. 2.) The Synod did not push the theory of the complete autonomy of each local church so far as George Phillips had done, for they saw the necessity of counsel and coöperation, saying, "Wee judge it much conducing to the welbeing, and communion of churches, that where it may conveniently be done, *neighbour-churches be advised withall*, and their help made use of. . . ." (Chapter IIX [VIII], 8) and again, "Although Churches be distinct, and therfore may not be confounded one with another: and equall, and therfore have not dominion one over another: yet all the churches ought to preserve *Church-communion* one with another, because they are all united unto Christ. . . ." (Chapter XV. 1.) Therefore the Synod recommended consultation, and admonition when needed. Magistrates might call a Synod, but "the constituting of a Synod, is a church act," yet even the Synod is "Not to exercise Church-censures in way of discipline, nor any other act of church-authority" (Chapter XVI. 3–4) beyond recommending non-communion with an offending church.

The Synod did not, however, make a clear-cut separation between church and state. They took as a matter of course the support of the churches by local taxation, though from the beginning it was the cause of some dissatisfaction and dissent. But it was the method of church support in Protestant Europe, with which they had been familiar in England, where, of course, it is still the source of revenue for the maintenance of the Established Church. Although they stated, "It is not in the powr of Magistrates to compell their subjects to become church-members, and to partake at the Lords table. . . . As it is unlawfull for church-officers to meddle with the sword of the Magistrate, so is it unlawfull for the Magistrate to meddle with the work proper to church-officers," (Chapter XVII. 4–5) nevertheless, they went on, "Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions, that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, prophanation of the Lords day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like, are to be restrayned, and punished by civil authority. If any church one or more shall grow schismaticall, rending it self from the communion of other churches, or shall walke incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case the Magistrate is to put forth his coercive powr, as the matter shall require." (Chapter XVII. 8–9.) Parts of this passage sound like echoes of the Antinomian controversy through which Boston had recently passed, but some of the offences listed are still subject to the civil law.

Such, very briefly, are the main points of church discipline formulated in seventeen chapters by the Cambridge Synod. Cotton Mather records the tradition that the Synod "broke up, with singing the *Song of Moses and the Lamb*, in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Revelation.* Adding another sacred *Song* from the nineteenth Chapter of that Book; which is to be found metrically paraphrased in the *New-England* Psalm-Book," but that book was not printed until 1651 and the Bay Psalm Book of 1640 did not include those songs. The Platform was printed the next year and in October, 1649, was "presented to the Churches and Generall Court for their consideration and acceptance, in the Lord." The Court judged "it meete to commend it to the judicyous and pious consideration of the seuerall churches within this jurisdiction." The churches debated "some particculars in the said draught," but in October, 1651, the Court voted "to give their testimony to the said booke of discipline, that for the substance thereof it is that wee have practised and doe believe."

The Cambridge Platform was, in truth, a remarkable document. Individuals, from Henry Barrowe in England, more than half a century earlier, to John Cotton and Thomas Hooker here in New England just before the Synod met, had stated the principles involved, but the Platform was the earliest methodical and adequate formulation of the Congregational polity to be set forth by a council speaking with at least local authority. And it was a new church order which it established, a type of church government unrecognized by the Christian world since the days of the primitive church. Although some of the Synod's recommendations were soon outgrown and fell into disuse, the Platform served the Congregational churches of the country for two hundred years. Its principle of the autonomy of the local church is practiced not only by the churches descended from the orthodox and the Unitarian wings of New England Congregationalism, but was also adopted by the Baptists, the Universalists, the Disciples of Christ, and other groups, so that today nearly half of the whole number of American Protestants belong to churches which are congregational in polity.

Many people today think of the New England Puritans as bigoted and intolerant, and Sir Richard Saltonstall after his return to England wrote his friends here a noble letter rebuking them for some of their limitations in this respect. But others in England accused them of great laxity of toleration. Thus Robert Baillie, a vehement Scottish Presbyterian propagandist, wrote of them, "Many of them preach, and some print, a libertie of conscience, at least the great equitie of a tolleration for all religions; that every man should be permitted, without any feare so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to professe publicklie his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the publick peace by any seditious or wicked practise."[18] We are likely to forget that the idea of religious liberty was, at that period, novel, and to most people seemed dangerous, and that the whole weight of the Laudian policy in the Church of England under Charles I, and of the Presbyterian Parliament in the earlier years of the Cromwellian era, was used to enforce conformity to every detail laid down by church authorities.

By contrast, the Cambridge Platform contained the hidden seed of toleration for differing interpretations of the gospel. Henry Ainsworth, an able Hebrew scholar and one of the Separatist group in Holland, whose writings were well known to the colonists, in his *Annotations* to the Bible (1612–1623) had "boldly laid down the fundamental principle that the Bible means what it says, and that what it says is to be determined by those simple laws of interpretation which apply to any other book—by getting, first of all, at the exact meaning of its Hebrew and Greek words, through the study of their etymological sense, and the careful noting of their use in Rabbinic and other writings, and, above all, by the comparison of Scripture with Scripture."[19] In this Ainsworth was a forerunner of modern Biblical scholarship and an advocate of the use of reason in the interpretation of the Bible. In their Preface to the Cambridge Platform the Synod had followed his lead insofar as they had maintained their right to their own "apprehension of the mind of Christ" derived from their reasoned interpretation of Scripture. Those who followed them could not, in the long run, refuse the same right to others.

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[18] Quoted in Dexter, *Congregationalism*, 461.

[19] Dexter, *Congregationalism*, 345.

It is frequently observed that the form of church order and the type of civil government in any given region and period influence each other and tend to fall into similar patterns. Thus the papacy by the sixth century had taken on something of the form of the Roman Empire which it survived; the priestly hierarchy of the Middle Ages had its secular counterpart in the feudal system; and following the Reformation the generally accepted policy *cuius regio eius religio*—the religion of the ruler is the religion of the state—inevitably resulted in similarity of structure and method between the secular government and the established order of the church. In accordance with this social law it was inevitable that the formulation and practice of the Congregational polity in the New England churches should have its effect in developing a like spirit of political independence. The autonomous local church went hand in hand with the self-governing town meeting. Indeed, it was the same group of men, in the same meetinghouse, who sat first to deal with church matters and then with the secular business of the town. If autonomy in church matters was the right of each local congregation it was also the right of the town meeting in civil affairs. The right of each church to elect and ordain its own officers implied the right of the community to elect the civil magistrates, with the voters the ultimate source of authority. Consultation among the churches in a loosely federated system to promote unity and protect common interests found its civic parallel in the General Court. The Platform's careful restriction of the power of any Synod, lest it should assume autocratic control, was intended to ensure local self-government in church matters, but behind it lay the fear of interference from England in civil affairs. The Puritans understood quite clearly that their Congregational order was the first line of defense, and that if it went down under Presbyterian or Episcopal control from the mother country, a large measure of the semi-independence which they had enjoyed under the charter would soon be taken from them. They had the foresight to bring their charter with them, and to secure the election to office of only such persons as had agreed to emigrate to the Colony, in order to avoid the necessity of frequent reference to persons in England for authority to take action here, and they had no intention of giving up the measure of freedom thus achieved.

The Puritans have often been criticized for their limitation to (male) church members of the right to vote for civil magistrates. That limitation was from the beginning a cause of dissatisfaction on the part of some who were excluded, and eventually had to be abandoned. It was based, however, upon a defensible theory. The Massachusetts Bay Company was not an independent political entity but a private corporation chartered by the Crown to settle and develop a small area of the American wilderness, and the Company had the undoubted right to determine the qualifications of persons admitted to voting membership. The desire to establish a community controlled by the form of religion in which they believed had been a dominant motive in its formation. Persons who preferred other forms were free to go elsewhere on the American continent. Accordingly the General Court voted in May, 1631, "to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was likewise ordered and agreed that for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same." We must remember also that, although voices were beginning to be heard advocating "popular government," democracy, as we understand it, was still far in the future. John Cotton, writing as late as 1636, took a position inconsistent with his later advocacy of the Congregational polity when he wrote that democracy was not ordained of God as "a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed?"[20]

In England the right to vote, then and much later, was based on social rank and property qualifications. The Puritans were in advance of their time when they disregarded these standards in favor of giving the vote to "honest and good men," regardless of their social or economic status. Church membership was the most obvious method for determining who were "honest and good," and also for establishing a theocracy—the reign of God in the commonwealth—since church members were pledged to live according to the will of God as revealed in Scripture. In a sense it was also a test of intelligence, because applicants for church membership were required to make a public statement of faith satisfactory to the elders, although women were permitted to do so in writing. But the average of education among the colonists was, for the times, rather high, and the Platform sought to guard against too rigid requirements, stating that "The weakest *measure* of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the church. . . . Such *charity* and tenderness is to be used, as the weakest christian if sincere, may not be excluded, nor discouraged. Severity of examination is to be avoyded." (Chapter xii. 3.) The loss of a number of early church records makes it impossible to compute the exact number of members who became enfranchised freemen in the early days of the Colony, but the common estimate that not more than one man in seven or eight was a voter is probably a good deal too low. It is more likely that one man in three or four was a freeman. Even if the lower figure be accepted, however, it compares favorably with the situation in England, where, as late as the American Revolution, only one man in ten could vote. The system inevitably broke down, but it was a noble experiment which eventually opened the way for a more widespread suffrage. As early as 1687 John Wise, of Ipswich, published a defense of the New England church polity in which he maintained that "Democracy is Christ's government in Church and in State." His treatise was reprinted in 1772 as still appropriate to the times.[21] On the other hand, as late as the end of the eighteenth century the Federalists were still clinging to the earlier standards when they advocated a suffrage limited to "the wise and good."

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[20] John Cotton, Letter to Lord Saye and Sele, quoted in Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony of Massachusets-Bay* (Boston, 1764), 497.

As the generations passed, pulpit and pew were educated in the principles of self-government, implicit if not always fully expressed in the Cambridge Platform, which came to political fruition in the American Revolution a hundred and thirty years later. As Miller says, in his *Origins of the American Revolution*, "The New England clergy had been preaching for generations the doctrines which after 1765 became the tenets of colonial patriotism."[22] But the Cambridge Platform was the seed-bed from which those doctrines had sprouted. Jonathan Mayhew was but speaking with the voice of the Cambridge Synod when, in the political crisis of the next century, he preached those sermons in the West Church in Boston which have been called

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[21] *The Pulpit of the American Revolution,* John Wingate Thornton, Editor, (Boston, 1860), xxix.

[22] John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1943), 186.

"the morning gun of the Revolution," in which he had defended disobedience to commands which were contrary to God's laws and had said, "The people know for what end they set up and maintain their governors, and they are the proper judges when they execute their trust as they ought to do it."[23] It is no wonder that the royal governors of Massachusetts found the Congregational churches among the chief obstacles to their maintenance of royal prerogatives, or that *St. James's Chronicle* in England, in its issue of September 29, 1774, could give the warning, "If the Americans shall be taught to believe Resistance to be lawful and consistent with their Duty to God, it will not be long before they sound the Trumpet of War, and publicly appear in Arms."[24]

Thus, from the very small mustard seed of a *Platform of Church Discipline* which should ensure freedom of action to each local New England congregation, there grew the great tree of religious and civil liberty upon which, in the fulness of time, the American eagle could perch. And it is, perhaps, not going too far to see in the Cambridge Synod, working out for the handful of weak and isolated churches which it represented a system which should maintain their local independence with the advantages of common action, the initial step down the long road to the convention in Philadelphia a hundred and forty years later, confronted by the greater and more difficult, but not very dissimilar task of framing a federal constitution which should reconcile the maintenance of local liberties and state rights with the desperate need for national unity. Such were the far-reaching consequences and the larger significance of the Cambridge Platform of 1648.

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[23] Quoted *ibid.*, 187.

[24] Quoted *ibid.*, 186.

Thomas Hollis and Jonathan Mayhew
Their Correspondence, 1759-1766

Edited by BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG[1]

IN February, 1755, Jasper Mauduit, a draper and leading nonconformist of London, later colonial agent in London for Massachusetts, wrote the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, pastor of West Church, Boston:

> At the request of a gentleman, lately returned from his travels on the continent, and who has brought home a confirmed sense of English liberty, I have put on board captain ———, a box, directed to you, containing prints of that great statesman, Algernon Sidney—a set for Harvard College, and a Sidney, bound, as a present to yourself. He says his inducement to send them to you, in preference to any other, is from your sermon on government.[2]

The gentleman referred to was Thomas Hollis, staunch nonconformist and heir to the fortune of his great-uncle, Thomas Hollis, benefactor of Harvard College. The sermon on government was presumably Mayhew's Election Sermon, published in 1754, containing such passages as the following:

> Nor is it easy to mention any duty which the gospel inculcates upon the consciences of men, with greater solemnity, than that of paying due honour to Kings, and all that are in authority. However, it is not to be forgotten, that as in all free constitutions of government, law, and not will, is the measure of the executive Magistrate's power; so it is the measure of the subject's obedience and submission. The consequence of which, I shall at present leave others to draw; only observing, that it is very strange we should be told, at this time of day, that loyalty and slavery mean the same thing; tho' this is plainly the amount of that doctrine which some, even now, have the forehead to ventilate, in order to bring a reproach upon the *Revolution*, upon the present happy settlement of the crown, and to prepare us for the dutiful reception of an *hereditary Tyrant*.[3]

A year later, again anonymously and through Mauduit, Hollis presented Mayhew with a copy of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*, and in November, 1758, sent him directly a fine collection of books. This last gift, of course, brought a letter of thanks, opening the correspondence which follows here.

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[1] The introduction to this paper was read at the March, 1949, meeting.

[2] Alden Bradford, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.,* . . . (Boston, 1838), 185. Unless otherwise noted, as in this case, all quotations are from the correspondence to which this paper is introductory.

[3] Jonathan Mayhew, *A Sermon Preach'd . . . May 29th 1754. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province* (Boston, 1754), 20–21.

Our Librarian, Stephen T. Riley, tells me that the Mayhew-Hollis correspondence came to the Society in 1846 as a gift from the Reverend Charles Lowell (1782–1861), a successor to Mayhew at West Church, who received it from the Reverend John Disney, a leading Unitarian minister in England, with permission to make such disposition of it as he thought best. Excerpts from many of the letters have been published in Archdeacon Blackburne's jumbled *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis Esq. F.R. and A.S.S.* (London, 1780), of which Horace Walpole wrote his friend Mason, on April 7, 1780:

> I am diverted at present to a larger and stupendously magnificent work about that singular being, Thomas Hollis; a most excellent man, an immaculate Whig, but as simple a soul as ever existed, except his editor, who has given extracts from the good creature's diary, that are very near as anile as Ashmole's. . . . all splendidly printed and decorated with cuts by Cipriani and Bartolozzi, and with fine prints of all our saints, Algernon Sidney, Milton, Locke, etc.[4]

Excerpts from some of the letters also appear in Alden Bradford's *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.*, and in Worthington C. Ford's notes to Volume 74 of the *Collections* of our Society, *Jasper Mauduit . . . 1762–1765*, published in 1918. But, as far as I know, the surviving letters are now for the first time presented without excision, and in chronological order.

In point of space, the letters deal mainly with Hollis's gifts of books to Mayhew individually, or as agent for his *alma mater* (Mayhew was Harvard, 1744). Through the kindness of Keyes DeWitt Metcalf, I am able to present to the Society photostats of the lists accompanying these gifts, which show they were princely in number, significance, and money value. Many of the earlier gifts to Harvard were lost in the fire of January, 1764; but some of these, together with the later, are still among the treasures of the Library, collected in an alcove in Houghton, a selection from which William Alexander Jackson has brought with him today for your inspection. I was tempted to devote my paper to a discussion of these gift books, but concluded that some comments on the political and politico-ecclesiastical aspects of the correspondence might be of more general interest.

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[4] *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Editor, (Oxford, 1903–1905), XI. 150.

Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury and president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was striving, in collaboration with the Reverend Samuel Johnson, president of King's College in New York City and a former missionary of the Society in Connecticut, to secure the establishment of one or more Church of England bishops in the colonies. Secker warned Johnson to keep the plan for colonial bishops under his hat, but Mayhew somehow learned of it, and on April 6, 1762, he wrote a long letter to Hollis, in which, after discussing books, travel, and William Pitt's recent retirement from the Cabinet, he turned to what was perhaps chiefly on his mind—the rumor of a "scheme forming for sending a Bishop into these parts."

Mayhew asked Hollis to help combat this project, and also to aid in securing the King's approval of a recent act of the Massachusetts General Court, incorporating the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America, sponsored by leading Congregationalists, lay and clerical, of Boston and vicinity. Under the Charter of Massachusetts, the King or his Privy Council was empowered to review and repeal acts of the Province, and Mayhew feared that the Church of England zealots, in a spirit of rivalry, might try to have the act disallowed—a fear which proved to be well founded, for they not only tried to do so, but succeeded.

Hollis replied that he thought the project for colonial bishops would not be pushed at this time (the Seven Years' War was still in progress), but, even if it were, he would not intervene in it or the other matter, because he never meddled in affairs of a political character. A year later, however, he was more coöperative, for, when Mayhew sent him a copy of his recent *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,* condemning the Society for using its funds to proselyte in New England, including its recent establishment of a mission church in Cambridge, the present Christ Church, within a stone's throw of Harvard College, Hollis had it reprinted in London.

A purely political topic emerges from the correspondence in a letter of Mayhew of August 8, 1765, commenting on the "universal alarm" in the colonies over the Stamp Act and other measures lately taken respecting them. He deplored the consequences that might follow a general and great dissatisfaction in the people of this large continent, but took comfort in the thought that Hollis would agree with him that "no people are under a *religious obligation* to be slaves, if they are able to set themselves at liberty." On August 19, in writing to Hollis of the attack in Boston on Andrew Oliver, stamp master for Massachusetts, he predicted the Stamp Act would "never be carried into execution, unless it is done at the point of the Sword, by a large army, or rather by a number of considerable ones, at least one in each Colony; there being about sixty thousand fighting men in this Province only. . . ." But on October 1, 1765, he wrote Hollis, "For my own part, I have both privately and publicly delivered my opinion of the inexpediency and great danger of any *forcible, riotous* and *illegal* proceedings, in opposition to parliamentary authority, even though the Colonies should be oppressed. *We are not able to contend in this way with Great Britain*"—a statement perhaps prompted by a distressing experience of Mayhew in the interval between the two letters.

On Sunday, August 25, 1765, Mayhew preached on the text of *Galatians* v, verses 12 and 13:

> I would they were even cut off which trouble you.
>
> For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only *use* not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

On the following day a Boston mob, stirred into action, it was said, by Mayhew's sermon of the day before, attacked the office of the deputy register of the Admiralty Court and the homes of the comptroller of customs and Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Hutchinson wrote an unidentified "Reverend and Dear Sir" on October 3, 1765:

> The D. [Dr. Mayhew] venomous arrows were aimed at you. I had the misfortune to be grievously wounded by his random shot. Sunday the 25 of August, notice being given that he was to preach from a political text "I would they were even cut off which trouble you for brethren ye have been called unto liberty." Here he stopped, the remainder of the sentence not being to his purpose.[5]

Mayhew gives a different version. He wrote one of his parishioners that, while his chief aim had been "to show the importance of Liberty," far from neglecting the rest of the text, he had expressly condemned those who "use liberty for an occasion to the flesh, who causelessly and maliciously speak evil of their rulers; endeavoring to make them appear odious or contemptible, or to weaken their influence, and proper authority, in their several stations," and he added, "Still more do they use liberty for an occasion to the flesh, who cause factions or insurrection against the government, under which they live, and who rebel against, or resist their lawful rulers, in the due discharge of their offices."[6]

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[5] Hutchinson Papers: Massachusetts Archives, XXVI. 158 (State House, Boston).

However, whether culpable or not, Mayhew was extremely upset over the affair. In the letter just quoted he acknowledged it was "a very unfortunate time" to preach a sermon chiefly showing the importance of liberty, adding, "I would freely give all that I have in the world, rather than have preached that sermon."

On August 27, two days after his unfortunate sermon, Mayhew wrote Hutchinson,

> I take the freedom to write you a few lines, by way of condolence, on account of the almost unparalleled outrages committed at your house last evening. . . . God is my witness, that, from the bottom of my heart, I detest these proceedings. . . . I the rather write to you in this manner, sir, because I understand . . . [it is said] I approved of these doings; and had, indeed, encouraged them in a sermon which I preached the last Lord's-day, on Galatians v. 12, 13. This I absolutely deny. I did, indeed, express myself strongly in favor of civil and religious liberty, as I hope I shall ever continue to do; and spoke of the late stamp act as a great grievance, likely to prove detrimental in a high degree both to the colonies and to the mother country: which, I believe, is the sense of almost every person of understanding in America: and, particularly, I have heard your honor speak to the same purpose. But, as my text led me to do, I cautioned my hearers expressly against the abuses of liberty, and intimated my hopes that no persons among ourselves had encouraged the bringing of such a burden on their country, though it had been strongly suspected. . . . And, in truth, I had rather lose my right hand than be an encourager of such outrages as were committed last night.[7]

Hutchinson replied:

> I am extremely obliged to you for your kind sympathy with me under my deplorable circumstances. I never doubted your friendship, although I heard the talk of the town on Monday. Yet I was sure you abhorred mobs and riots, and had no other design than to preserve, in the minds of the people, a just sense

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[6] Mayhew to Richard Clarke, September 3, 1765: *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XLVI (Boston, 1892), 16–20.

[7] Bradford, *Mayhew,* 420–421. The date of this letter was kindly supplied by Dr. Robert E. Moody from the Mayhew Papers at the Boston University Library.

of their liberties; and when something further was suggested, I remembered how often I had been misrepresented, aspersed, and injured myself.

I should have answered your note sooner; but my spirits have been in continual agitation ever since the fatal night. I ask the continuance of your friendship, and your prayers for me; and am your affectionate friend and humble servant.[8]

How this friendly letter is to be reconciled with that of October third to the unidentified "Reverend and Dear Sir," quoted above, I cannot explain. Perhaps, after writing Mayhew, Hutchinson heard further unfavorable reports concerning the sermon which changed his impression.

The Hollis-Mayhew correspondence submitted today throws no new light, I regret to say, on Mayhew's theological views. He has been hailed by distinguished Unitarians as an early Unitarian before the term came into use;[9] but I have found nothing in this correspondence or his published sermons, and little in the other writings of his that I have seen to support this view. Anti-Calvinist or Arminian, he demonstrably was; but that, of course, is a different matter.[10]

The correspondence was ended by Mayhew's untimely death (he was only forty-five) in July, 1766. But, fortunately for historians, Hollis found an acceptable successor as a Boston correspondent in Andrew Eliot, pastor of the New North Church. His opening letter to Eliot, of September 6, 1766, and Eliot's side of the correspondence from 1766 to 1771, were published in 4 *Collections*, IV, 398-461, in 1858. The rest of Hollis's letters to Eliot were later made available by John F. Eliot, whose gift of them in 1865 rounded out the Society's holdings of the Hollis-Mayhew-Eliot correspondence. These letters, and also the interesting correspondence of Eliot and Archdeacon Blackburne, I hope to bring before you at some later meeting.

Eliot's first letter to Hollis (November 14, 1766) is largely taken up with praise of Mayhew, in the course of which he remarked, "upon how few can we depend, if Mr. Pitt, the great patriot, who seemed formed to stem the torrent of corruption, has been gained over by the northern *Thane* [Bute]."[11] This refers, of course, to Pitt's recent acceptance of a peerage, as the Earl of Chatham, thereby abandoning his seat and direct influence in the House of Commons. Hollis, an ardent admirer of Pitt, had made excuses to Mayhew for his hero's acceptance of a lavish annuity from George III in 1761, but Pitt's latest move was too much even for Hollis. He wrote Eliot, "The fondness of the Good People of North America for a late great Commoner, will have ended wholly I apprehend by this Time. How glorious the Death of Dr. Mayhew, to the now Life of that man! that fallen, *meanest* Man!"[12]

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[8] *Ibid.*, 422.

[9] For example, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, who, in his "A Cradle of Liberty . . .": *Proceedings of the Unitarian Historical Society*, V, Part 2 (1937), 6, wrote that Mayhew was "an outspoken Unitarian long before the name was given to those who adopted his convictions" and was "utterly straightforward in his denial of the prevailing Trinitarianism." The nearest approach to an anti-Trinitarian remark I have found is in a footnote on page 418 of Mayhew's *Sermons* . . . (Boston, 1755) scoffing at the undue exaltation of the Virgin Mary, which is reprinted in Bradford, *Mayhew*, 135–136*n*.

[10] See the quotations from his sermons in Bradford, *Mayhew*, 37–39 and 76–77.

However, Hollis's admiration for Chatham was restored by the latter's hearty efforts to reconcile England and the colonies, and a few months before Hollis's death in 1774 he spent several days at Lyme Regis with Chatham, who wrote his wife:

> Mr. Hollis came to us on Wednesday, and contrived to show me more beauties in the course of yesterday than I could have discovered without him in a twelvemonth. Amidst all the beauties of creation his own mind holds by far, the most prominent place. He is the happiest of beings, by dispensing continually happiness to others. Mr. Hollis remarks the Counsellor's [pet name for William, Jr., aged fourteen] firm accents, and says—"You see how distinct and clear his ideas are." Great part of our tour yesterday in the coach, these two friends of liberty and virtue were tete-a-tete, by walking up and down the steep hills while I remained in the carriage. In this kind of converse not only the constitution of the state, but the universal frame of nature, was, I dare say, thoroughly discussed.[13]

Since the reading of this paper, Miss Caroline Robbins, Professor of History at Bryn Mawr, has published two admirable articles on Hollis.[14] Miss Robbins's detailed bibliographical description (188–189) of five pamphlets of Mayhew which Hollis had reprinted in

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[11] 4 *Collections*, IV (1858), 400.

[12] Hollis to Eliot, May 11, 1767. Hollis Papers: Massachusetts Historical Society.

[13] *Correspondence of William Pitt*, William S. Taylor and John Henry Pringle, Editors, (London, 1838–1840), IV. 268.

[14] Caroline Robbins, "The Strenuous Whig": *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, VII, Number 3 (July, 1950), 406–453; and "Library of Liberty—Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn": *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Number 1 (Winter, 1951), 5–23, and Number 3 (Spring, 1951), 181–196.

London from 1760 to 1766 is particularly pertinent to the present paper. Miss Robbins also calls attention to and uses effectively the interesting diary of Hollis, from April 14, 1759, through July 3, 1770, a transcript of which is in the Library of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, at Williamsburg, Virginia.

Those interested in Mayhew will find valuable information, in addition to that in Bradford's *Mayhew,* in Moses Coit Tyler's *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763–1783* (New York and London, 1897), I. 121–140, containing a list of Mayhew's numerous publications from 1749 to 1766; Clinton Rossiter's *Seed Time of the Republic* (New York, 1953), 227–247 and 507–510; and, above all, Charles Wesley Akers's unpublished dissertation, "The Life of Jonathan Mayhew, 1720–1766" (1952), a copy of which is available at the Boston University Library.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, August 16, 1759

SIR, This is to return you my Thanks for the valuable Collection of Books, Tracts, etc., sent me since Captain Trail was unhappily shipwrecked; by whom you designed I should have received a like Favor, as I perceive by the Catalogue sent me with the late Box, which came safe to Hand. Nor am I less obliged, Sir, to acknowledge your Generosity in Respect of the other Box, though unfortunately lost, than of this.

By comparing the Hand-writing I have now also discovered, to whose Goodness I was, some Time before, indebted for Sidney's most excellent Discourses on Government, and the admirable Milton's EIKONOKLASTES; both transmitted to me by Mr. Mauduit, who very strictly observed your Orders as to concealing the Donor's Name. Be pleased, worthy Sir, now to accept my sincere and hearty Thanks for these repeated Favors all together; and to be assured, that I shall ever retain a most grateful Sense of the Obligations.

I have always honored the Name of HOLLIS, ever since I read our English Historians; and particularly on Account of the Part which One who sustained it, bore in the troublesome Times of King Charles I. I have a farther Reason for honouring the same Name, on account of a late eminent Benefactor to Harvard College, wherein I had my

Education, viz. Mr. Thomas Hollis, Merchant in London;[15] of which generous and catholic-spirited Gentleman, no one amongst us speaks, but with Esteem and Gratitude. But you, Sir, by your repeated Favours to me personally have laid me under an additional, and more immediate Obligation, always to preserve an honourable Remembrance of a Name so distinguished, both by Services done to the Public, and by private Liberalities.

I could not well avoid thus acknowledging your Favour directly to yourself, although you only desired that the Receipt of the Box, etc., might be acknowledged to Mr. Mauduit. You may rely upon it, Sir, that your Directions about the *Contents of the Box,* will be carefully observed; and that no Inferences, to your Prejudice, will be drawn therefrom; which would be equally unjust and ungenerous.

Mr. Hollis above mentioned, by his Donations to our College, amongst other Things, laid the Foundation for two Professorships, one of Divinity, the other of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; which Places are now both filled by very worthy Persons, being the first that were in them, from their Foundation. I send you inclosed two Lectures of the latter of these Professors,[16] (with whom I have the Pleasure and Honor of a particular Friendship) occasioned by the late Comet: I beg your Acceptance of them, as much more deserving of your Notice, than any Thing I could send you of my own.

I congratulate you on the happy Success of the British Arms in America, the particulars of which you will soon have in the public Prints, if you have them not already.[17] I am, Sir, with great Regard and Esteem, and with the sincerest Wishes that the best of Blessings may attend you,

Your most obliged Humble Servant
JONATHAN MAYHEW

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[15] For an account of Mr. Hollis and the Hollis Alcove in the Harvard College Library, see *Proceedings,* LI. 265–282.

[16] John Winthrop (1714–1779).

[17] Fort Niagara, the French stronghold at the mouth of the Niagara River, had been surrendered to the British, July 25, 1759.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Dear Sir, In November last I sent you a box of books, which it is hoped arrived safe and proved acceptable.

Inclosed is a receit for another box, that contains a few more books, of which I likewise desire your kind acceptance, and a little box, directed "To the Curators of the public library of Harvard College."

You will be so obliging to cause the latter to be presented to those Gentlemen, and to excuse the trouble which it may occasion.

I have the honor to subscribe with the greatest esteem and respect as Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant

T. H.

Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London
August 17, 1759

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, New England, May 21, 1760

Dear and Honoured Sir, I did myself the honor of writing to you the last summer in acknowledgment of your repeated favours to me; particularly of the box of books sent me after those lost in Captain Trail. Some time in the winter past I received your kind letter of August 17, 1759 viâ New York; and the same day, the box of books mentioned therein, in which was inclosed a small box for the public library of Harvard College.

I now return you my hearty thanks, kind Sir, for this last favour, in the books, the prints, the medal, etc., all of which are either useful or entertaining; some both, and divers of them very curious. They have afforded both me and my friends a great deal of pleasure, and, as I hope, not without profit. I should have acknowledged this favour more seasonably, had I not been in too ill a state of health to write, when opportunities heretofore presented. Be pleased, Sir, to admit of this as my apology for a delay, which hardly any thing else could have excused.

The small box you sent to our library, was duly delivered, and very gratefully and respectfully received: and I conclude you either have had, or will soon have, the acknowledgment of the College-Corporation for this, and your other benefactions to that society.

I cannot but congratulate you, Sir, on your felicity in being a member of so many worthy societies as I find you are, instituted for the noble purposes of advancing learning, arts and commerce; for the relief of the distressed, etc. Or rather I ought to congratulate the mother-country, on her having such societies formed, and supported in her bosom; from which so much advantage and glory accrue to her. And every person who has at once the ability and disposition to bear a part in such useful and public designs, must needs have great satisfaction in the prosecution of them; a satisfaction, of which the ignorant, illiberal and ungenerous mind can have no conception. Happy the nation that abounds with gentlemen of fortune and figure, of learning and inclination, to carry such designs into execution; and happy those, who are immediately engaged, and so successfully employed in them!

You gave a hint, Sir, in a blank leaf of one of the last books sent me, as if you thought some societies formed in the American colonies upon the model of those in London, particularly that of the royal society, and the society for encouraging commerce, might be for the public benefit; Whereby you discover a generous concern for our welfare. I have discoursed with some of the most learned and public-spirited gentlemen amongst us upon this point, acquainting them by whom this proposal was suggested to me. Their opinion (from which I cannot dissent in this respect) is, That we are hardly yet ripe for engaging in designs of this nature. It is apprehended that we have not amongst us a sufficient number of persons of extensive knowledge, of fortune, leisure and public spirit, for such undertakings.[18] However, though we are at present a young and small, we are a flourishing and increasing people; at least, shall probably be so, whenever it shall please God to give us peace in our borders. And I do not despair of seeing in time such useful institutions amongst us, as those mentioned; especially if you, Sir, and others like you, should continue to patronize and encourage us.

I pray God abundantly to reward your generous concern for the welfare and prosperity of my native country, and your repeated liberalities to him, who is, with the sincerest esteem and gratitude, Sir,

Your most obliged, And most obedient Humble Servant

J. MAYHEW

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[18] The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia had been in existence since 1744.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, New England, July 2, 1760

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, It is not long since I wrote to you in acknowledgment of your repeated favors to me: And Mr. Holyoke, the President of our College, informs me, that he has by letter returned you the thanks of the College-Corporation, for the valuable books you was so good as to send to the public library of that society; particularly those which came through my hands.

The bearer hereof, Mr. Edmund Quincy, is a gentleman of a liberal education, and one of my hearers, for whom I have a particular regard.[19] He has been in trade for several years; and now goes to London with a design to settle a mercantile correspondence there; his Father being a gentleman of very considerable fortune and distinction for our part of the world. Mr. Quincy (the bearer) informs me, that he has thoughts of engaging in the pot-ash business; but is at some loss about the præmium for encouraging the importation of that commodity from the British American colonies. And knowing you, Sir, to be a distinguished member of the worthy society for the encouragement of arts and manufactures, I have taken the liberty to mention you to him as a person, certainly very able, and that doubtless would be as ready, to resolve any doubts he might be under respecting that matter. The experience I had had of your benevolent and candid disposition, induced me to believe, you would not take this freedom amiss in me. Whatever courtesy you may think proper to shew Mr. Quincy, it will, I am sure, be very gratefully acknowledged by him: And it will also be looked on as a new obligation laid upon, Sir,

Your often obliged, And most Obedient Humble Servant
JONATHAN MAYHEW

P. S. SIR, If either curiosity, or a generous concern for the prosperity of these colonies, should induce you to make any inquiry concerning the state of commerce, learning or religion, in these parts, I believe Mr. Quincy is very capable of giving you a true and satisfactory account.

Your etc.
J. M.

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[19] This was Edmund Quincy (1733–1768), Harvard 1752, whose father was Josiah (1710–1784). Benjamin Franklin, in London as Agent for the Pennsylvania Assembly, wrote Josiah Quincy on April 8, 1761, of Edmund's "ingenuous, manly, and generous behaviour, in a transaction here with the Society of Arts": *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* Albert Henry Smyth, Editor, (New York, 1907), IV. 98.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Dear Sir, I acknowledge three favors of yours, dated August 16, 1759, May 21, and July 2, 1760, the last by Mr. Quincy, who, as I happened to be abroad the day that He called at my lodgings, left it there, and whom I have not seen since, though I will endeavour to find him out at his own lodgings, and will wait upon him, and shew him all the civility, and do him all the service in my power.

I acknowledge likewise the receit of your own two spirited and excellent discourses on the taking of Quebec, which have since been reprinted here, like all your other works; and the two lectures on Comets by professor Winthrop, which I read with great pleasure; and I rejoice that the Mathematical chair at Harvard College, your College, is filled by so able and worthy a Gentleman.

It gave me particular satisfaction to know, that all the books arrived safe, which have been sent since the unfortunate parcell by Captain Trail, and that they proved acceptable.

I now have the pleasure to send you another box of books, and other trifles, by the *Diamond*, Captain Mackay, the freight of which is paid. Good luck attend it.

In the box is a small box, a small parcell, certain publications of the learned Dr. Morton,[20] and a letter, for Harvard College, and the very respectable President of it, The Reverend Mr. Holyoke, of which You are requested to take care.

The box which You were pleased to forward before to that College was handsomely acknowledged in a letter from the President, indeed with more civility than was necessary.

In reply to the opinion of your learned and *most public spirited* friends at Boston, who apprehend, that You are hardly ripe enough there as yet to institute a Society of ANY KIND, whether for the promotion of natural knowledge, Science, art, or Commerce, I humbly beg leave to say; That neither did we think ourselves ripe enough here in England for such designs, till *so late* as the Year 1660, when the Royal Society was instituted; not by favor of the many, but by the wisdom and ENERGY *of a few,* the excellent Mr. Hartlib, a foreigner to whom Milton addressed his matchless treatise on education, Mr.

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[20] Charles Morton, M.D., underlibrarian of the British Museum, well-known writer on scientific subjects.

Boyle, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Sprat, and some others. Nor was it till many years after, *so very late*, as the year 1753, to our shame be it declared, and long after such Societies had obtained and florished in the lesser Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, that the Society for promoting arts and commerce was established; the first meeting of which consisted of no more than *twelve persons*, who were brought together with difficulty, and were rather well disposed and good people, *than able and of rank*.

I am therefore humbly of an opinion, that one or more Societies may be formed at Boston, exceedingly to the benefit of that place, and our North American Colonies; not only in respect to knowledge, science, art, and elegance of civil life and manners, but to commerce and money matters.

A Museum, at least, with a public library, and a botanical garden anexed to it, as here, might certainly be instituted, which may assume the name of *The Boston Museum*, or if a more extensive title should be liked, *The New England Museum*; and will serve as an example from You the Mother Colony, and a noble one, to every other Colony.

If still Your learned, and *most public spirited* friends should doubt that You are hardly ripe enough for any of these establishments, let them survey their maps of Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Flanders, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and even barbarous Russia, and view the numerous Universities, and Academys, another word for Societies in those nations. They will then see, that much the greater part of these Academys are seated in places *far inferior* to Boston, for number of Inhabitants, Riches, or indeed men of learning and ingenuity. Let these Gentlemen cease their diffidence therefore, and quit a state of rest and disconnection; and combine, and act, and establish SOME SOCIETY, as they may be able. The very attempt is noble, and should they fail under it, they will still reap honor from it, *ingenuous honor*; but my own reputation on the event, that it will succeed and florish, proportionately as ours at home, if planned with judgment, conducted with unanimity and spirit, and countenanced by authority.

Excuse, Dear Sir, these Sallys, But I know to whom I write A MASTER SPIRIT, and thus I quit this subject—now.

You do much honor to the name of *Hollis*. The rudest speech that ever I was guilty of in my whole life, was to an Irish Colonel, on the

Spanish Neapolitan establishment, at his Villa, at the roots of Mount Vesuvius, where he had invited me obligingly to dine, during my stay at Naples in the summer 1752. This Colonel was a sensible polite man, a man of letters, and who had travelled, but a professed Jacobite; and I, ever an open and most declared Whig, who adored the Revolution, and the House of Hanover because of it, and their merits. Yet my business was to see the world, and converse at large, as a Young man; and his to study ease with elegance as an old one. And thus at Naples we became acquainted, and, our principles apart, of which we never talked, conceived a certain mutual regard, and even friendship for each other. After a very kind reception, and having dined, The Colonel said in conversation "There was a great man of your name, Mr. Hollis, on the Parliament side during the civil wars, are You of his Family" I instantly replied "No Sir, but I am full of his spirit," at which he smiled, and I soon after became somewhat disconcerted, on recollection, that such a speech was undoubtedly an indecorum in his House. But it was a sally, and he knew it to be such; nor did it interrupt our friendship but rather heighten it, from the frankness of it. Indeed I am of an opinion with the ingenious *Montaigne*, that an openness, frankness of behaviour is seldom detrimental, and often of advantage, at least I have found it so, and is peculiarly graceful in a Gentleman.

A propos to the Hollisian spirit which I profess, *and more*, for Algernon Sidney, Milton, and honest Ludlow are my Heroes; I cannot forbear sending You an extract of President Holyoke's letter to me, dated December 28, 1759. "Sir, We have just now received from Your bountiful hand, a most beautiful as well as valuable present of Milton's prose works; valuable to Us as we have a very high regard for that great man, whom, *his political works* NOT AT ALL WITHSTANDING, we esteem a great honor to the British Name." If I understand Milton's principles they are these. That Government, at least our government is by compact. That a King becoming a Tyrant, and the compact thereby broken, the Power reverts again to the Constituents, the People, who may punish such Tyrant as they see fit, and constitute such a new form of government as shall then appear to them to be most expedient. It is true indeed that that form of Government which he and many other able honest men inclined to on the death and punishment of the Tyrant Charles was a Commonwealth; which the Army that Hydra-beast prevented; forcing the Nation thereby, against its bent, after numberless vexations, to call back that riot-Prince Charles the second. But Milton nor the warmest Commonwealth's man, never thought of altering the antient form of Government till Charles the first had sinned flagrantly and repeatedly against it, and had destroyed it by his violences. On the contrary there are several and very fine passages in his prose works, where he commends that antient form exceedingly, and with highest justice; and it is undoubted truth, that we owe the most noble the most happy Revolution to his principles, and to those of his friends; principles that will uphold and cherish every honest virtuous Prince, and check only and confound, which God grant, every bad prince, and every Tyrant. You see, Dear Sir, If I have explained myself clearly, that it is to Milton, the divine Milton, and such as him, in the struggles of the civil wars and the Revolution, that we are beholden for all the manifold and unexampled Blessings which we now every where enjoy; and Mr. President Holyoke for his Liberty and his College. But of this passage I have taken no notice in my answer to that Gentleman.

Just as I was about finishing this letter, a friend of myne a Scotch Physician, ingenuous, and "who has seen many cities, and many mens manners," for to such it is that this Nation, and every Nation, owes its noblest Institutions, called on me, to shew me a passage in the Glasgow journal of August 21, concerning our Society for promoting arts and commerce, with which Passage, it seems, he had been much pleased. I read it immediately, was alike pleased with it, begged it, received it, and transmit it now in aid of this my letter; and may the good Genius of the Colonies and of Mankind waft them in safety to You, and incline the Hearts of Your learned Men and of your Leaders, as one man to the proposed ends, for their benefit and the common good.

I am with unfeigned esteem and attachment Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and most obedient servant
T. H.

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] Copy of my letter to The Reverend Dr. Mayhew of Boston, in New England, dated London, August 27, 1760.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, March 19, 1761

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR, I had the favour of your's by the *Diamond,* Captain Mackay, and therewith a new proof of your friend ship and liberality; for both which I return you my humble and hearty thanks. Not only the books and pamphlets, but those curiosities, the value of which you was pleased to diminish under the name of *trifles,* were extremely acceptable to me. And I should have acknowledged these favours sooner, only the box did not come to hand till the latter end of January; since which there has been no good opportunity for it. Your repeated presents give me great pleasure, not only on account of their intrinsic worth, but more especially as testimonies of the kind regards of a person, whom I so much esteem and honor. And yet I do not receive them without a mixture of pain and regret; being conscious how little pretensions I have to these marks of your friendship, and that it is not in my power to make any adequate returns. Two or three lines which I committed to memory when I was a school-boy (I think they are Otway's), have often occurred to my thoughts on these occasions—

> Tis irksome to a grateful, generous soul,
> Still to receive, and run in debt to friendship,
> Without the pow'r of paying something back.

But though this reflexion at first gives me some uneasiness; yet it is partly removed by this farther reflexion, that my benefactor is so disinterestedly-generous, that, like the common benefactor of mankind, he neither desires nor expects any other return, than that of sincere gratitude.

What was contained in your last box, for Mr. President Holyoke, I took care to send him. He is a well-disposed worthy gentleman; and will not fail to make proper acknowledgments. His political notions, and sentiments concerning Milton, I am confident, are not materially different from your own. These are indeed the principles which, God be thanked! generally prevail in New England; though bigottry in religious matters has far too much place amongst us; so much, as almost makes me ashamed of my country.

I have distributed those duplicates of books which you sent me, according to your directions, and to my best discretion. Particularly, one of the very elegant copies of Milton's *Life,* etc., I gave (as from an unknown person) to Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant Governor of this province, who is a gentleman of capacity and erudition; to whom it was very acceptable. The two copies of this book were sent me as from the *anonymous editor*. I think I can pretty well conjecture, who that learned gentleman is; and am obliged to him for the honor he has done me, in taking one of his notes from a discourse of mine, and placing it amongst some, taken from the writings of the most eminent persons. I am also much obliged to the learned Dr. Morton for the very curious table of alphabets, sent me as from him.[21] If you would take an opportunity, Sir, to make my very respectful acknowledgments to him for that favour, I should esteem this as a new one from yourself.

I have taken care to send to the generals Amherst and Murray,[22] as also to Mr. [Francis] Bernard our Governor, what was ordered for them respectively; and think myself honoured by your commands in this respect.

I thank you for the civilities shown to Mr. Quincy, whom I took the freedom to mention to you as my friend; and who has not omitted to acknowledge to his friends here, the favours which he has received from you since he has been in London.

Your apparent desire to see learning, arts and commerce flourish in this western world, is a strong proof of that liberal and public spirit in you, of which I should not have doubted, even though this particular evidence thereof had been wanting. For no one can look into the several lists of the learned and charitable societies instituted in London (which I consider as being at once the exchange, the university and the alms-house of Europe), without seeing a demonstration of this. I am, however, still in doubt, whether a sufficient number of persons, duly qualified in all respects, can be found at present in these parts, to engage successfully in those noble designs which you so strongly recommend. But I have communicated your sentiments on this head to Mr. professor Winthrop and some others of my learned friends; and do not wholly despair. This is all that I can at present say about it: For which I am very sorry on several accounts; and, amongst others, because I am sure, that if I could have spoken more encour[ag]ingly, it would have been a great pleasure to a gentleman of your benevolent disposition.

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[21] Charles Morton published an "improved edition" of Edward Bernard's *Engraved Table of Alphabets* ([London?], 1759).

[22] James Murray, military governor of Quebec.

I am glad to understand that Mr. Winthrop's lectures on commets were acceptable to you; and that my thanksgiving-discourses, 1759, were not altogether unacceptable. Since which I have sent you, inclosed to Mr. Quincy, another discourse or two which I published last autumn.[23] I now send you another, occasioned by the death of the late king. I also send you (though something out of season) a lecture of Mr. Winthrop's occasioned by the earthquakes here in 1755, with two or three discourses of my own upon the same occasion; which, I think, I had not sent before. Of these I beg your acceptance; not so much on account of their worth (of my own I mean), as a proof that I can trust my reputation wholly in your power.

I conclude, Sir, that the world has been favoured with some literary or political productions of your's, published with, or without your name: But I live as it were out of the world, and so am uncertain what passes in it. If I am right in this conjecture, be pleased to add these productions to the many obligations which you have already laid upon me; which, I am sure, will be none of the least of them.

I pray God abundantly to bless and reward you; and to make you as great a blessing to the world, as you desire to be: Than which I can hardly pray for any thing greater or better, either for yourself or others. I am, Dear and Honoured Sir, with all proper regards,

Your often-obliged, And most Obedient Humble Servant
J. Mayhew

P. S. The Author of *The Rudiments of Latin Prosody*, etc., which is now sent to Mr. Hollis, is James Otis, junior, Esq: an attorney at law, of good reputation amongst us, and a gentleman of my acquaintance. He has modestly called the whole, *A collection from the best writers*. But, if I am not mistaken, there are in the performance, some original thoughts, and observations of his own, which are no discredit to him. I am, etc.

J. M.

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[23] *God's Hand and Providence . . . Sermon Occasioned by The Great Fire in Boston, New-England, Thursday March 20. 1760*; *Discourse Occasioned by the Death of The Honourable Stephen Sewall, Esq.* (delivered Sunday, September 14, 1760); and *Two Discourses Delivered October 9th, 1760. . . . Thanksgiving For the . . . Reduction of Canada* were published by Mayhew in Boston in 1760.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, June 11, 1761

Dear and Honoured Sir, I wrote to you several months since in answer to your very obliging letter of August, 1761 [1760], sent with a box of books; for which I again return you my hearty thanks. This my last to you was inclosed in a Pacquet directed to my friend Mr. Quincy; in which there were also two or three pamphlets for you, and some for other persons. Being apprehensive at the time of my writing that Mr. Quincy might possibly leave London before the said pacquet got there, I wrote a second direction upon it, ordering it to be delivered to you, Sir, upon that supposition; And I am now glad I took that precaution: For I find that Mr. Quincy had actually sailed for America some time before the vessel by which I wrote, could have arrived. The ship in which he sailed (Captain Blake), is lately arrived at Boston after having been taken by a French privateer, and ransomed: And Mr. Quincy, together with the Captain, is gone to Bayonne. If my pacquet, doubly directed as aforesaid has already come to your hands, or shall do so, I beg you to burn the letter for Mr. Quincy, therein contained; to accept the pamphlets directed to you, and to send the others to the persons for whom they were designed. It is not without some reluctance that I give you this trouble; though I am now going to request another favour of you: Which is, that you would be so kind as to take care of the letter and pacquet sent herewith, for the Reverend Mr. Isaac Hollis of Buckinghamshire. The contents of the pacquet you will learn by the letter, which is sent to you unsealed. I beg you to read it, seal it, and then send it together with the Pacquet. And if you have any connexion with the said Mr. Hollis, and should think it not improper, I should take it as an additional favour if you would either speak or write to him respecting the subject of my letter to him—his protesting Mr. Edwards's bill; by which I am perswaded, he has (undesignedly) very much injured him. I am really ashamed to have requested you to take so much trouble upon yourself: But as I thought you might probably be related to the Reverend Mr. Hollis, and as it was in the cause of justice and humanity, I knew not of any person in London, to whom I could so properly apply upon this occasion, as to yourself. I shall rejoice at every opportunity to shew the sense I have of your repeated kindnesses to me, whenever you are pleased to honor me with any of your commands: And am, with the sincerest respect and regards, Honoured Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

J. Mayhew

P. S. Mr. professor Winthrop of our college is gone, at this government's expence, to the northern part of Newfoundland, in order to observe the transit [of Venus], etc.[24] If the weather has proved favourable, I doubt not but that his observations will at once give some pleasure to the knowing and curious in these matters, and be for his own credit: And if he publishes them here, as probably he will, I shall not fail to transmit them to you by the first opportunity. I am, etc.

J. M.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, August 28, 1761

Honoured and Dear Sir, I have had the honor of writing to you more than once, since January last, the time of my receiving your very obliging letter, together with a box of books, etc., etc. In my last I took the freedom (presuming on your goodness) to inclose a letter for the Reverend Mr. Hollis of High-Wiccomb, relative to his School in these parts, and Mr. Edwards,[25] who apprehends himself injured by means of some misrepresentations made to that charitable gentleman concerning him. A considerable Pacquet was also directed by me to your obliging care, for the same gentleman, containing testimonials, Accounts, vouchers, etc., relating to that affair. I have not yet heard, whether said letter, etc., ever came to your hands; or indeed, whether the vessel by which I wrote, arrived safe, or not. I beg the favour of you, good Sir, by one of the first opportunities, to let me know, whether you have received them; because, if they have miscarried by any means, it will be necessary for Mr. Edwards to send his Accounts, etc., again.

Mr. Professor Winthrop, who went to Newfoundland to observe the Transit, had a very favourable time for that purpose. He has not communicated particularly, at least not published, his observations here. He informed me in general, that they were very agreeable to Dr. Halley's predictions; and I conclude he will speedily transmit the particulars to that learned and royal Society, of which you are a worthy member.

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[24] See Lawrence Shaw Mayo, *The Winthrop Family in America* (Boston, 1948), 181–183.

[25] At a sheer guess, possibly Morgan Edwards, active in the establishment of Rhode Island College, now Brown University.

We have no news of importance in America; and by our latest advices from Europe, we fear a general peace is not very near, though we lately had strong hopes that it was.

I send this by Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, a merchant of this town. He is a sensible, well-bred gentleman, of a good education; and a Nephew of Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant governor of this province. As he will be an intire stranger in London, any Notice you may be pleased to take of him, will be gratefully received by him, and also acknowledged as an additional obligation laid upon, Sir,

Your So-often-obliged, and most Obedient Humble Servant
J. MAYHEW

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, August 29, 1761

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, Since the sealing of my letters for London (one of which, per Mr. Rogers, was for yourself), Mr. John Mascarene, an acquaintance and friend of mine, was with me, informing me that he was bound to London, and offering his service, if I had occasion. I told him, Mr. Rogers, who was to be his fellow-passenger, already had my letters, etc. I beg leave, however (as Mr. Mascarene[26] informs me, that he is to wait on you with a letter from Mr. President Holyoke, whose daughter he married) to assure you that he is a very worthy gentleman, of a liberal education, and of singular Modesty; which is so great, that it may perhaps prove a disadvantage to him, where he is not known, though it highly recommends him where he is. He is the only son of the late Major General Mascarene, an honest Man, who, for several years, was commander in Chief of Nova Scotia; and has letters from the Governor of this Province, and other Gentlemen, to their respective correspondents in London. What the nature of his Business is, in England, I do not particularly know; but, if I might presume so far on your friendship to me, I would humbly recommend him to your notice and civility; which, as I understand, was of no small service to my other friend, Mr. Quincy. The freedom I take with you, may perhaps be greater than I have any right to use; But I am very desirous of obliging my friends in all ways in my power; and assure you, Sir, that it would give me great pleasure, for your sake, to shew respect to any friend or acquaintance of yours, coming into these parts, whom you should please to mention to me in a similar Manner: And any other commands, with which you shall honor me, shall have the utmost regard paid to them by, Worthy Sir,

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[26] John Mascarene (Harvard 1741).

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

J. MAYHEW

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, Three obliging favours of yours dated March 19, 1761, June 11, and August 28, I acknowledge; together with certain much to be respected publications of yours, and two very ingenious treatises of professor Winthrop's, and Mr. Otis's: for all which You have my hearty thanks.

You do me justice in believing, that I have been wholly disinterested in my motives for sending You the trifling presents which You have at times received from me. It was the excellence of your character, and the noble spirit of Liberty and of Truth which appeared in Your Writings, that first occasioned them, and the more intimate observance of these qualities by your letters and publications, which has continued them: Nor are You in any shape endebted to me on their account from the frankness with which You were pleased to accept them, and the honest and able purposes to which You have applied them; and We are at this time bounden to each other, *only* by the general sameness of our turn and views, and by our friendship.

Inclosed is a Receit for another small box of books, and tracts, and prints, shipped by *The Benjamin*, Captain Hulme, free of freight, of which, as heretofore I beg your kind acceptance. The Number and intrinsic value of these things are small, and yet they are not altogether uncurious, especially to one who lives as you do at a distance.

In the same box are two books, which I am desirous of having the honor to present to Harvard College, and beg You will cause to be delivered to it, together with the inclosed for Mr. President Holyoke, excusing the trouble. I am much obliged to You for the dispersion of the various copies of the Publications of the proceedings of the Committee for cloathing French prisoners of War. It is true, that I was, as appears, one of that Committee and I deem it an *honor* to have been of it; but the copies were sent by desire of the Committee, and *not by me*, though under my directions, which I thought I had remarked by a note upon some one of them that were forwarded to You, and ought clearly to be understood.

The anonimous Editor of Toland's life of Milton,[27] returns You his thanks for your courteous expressions concerning him, and for having deposited the duplicate copy, in hands so respectable.

What few attentions I could shew to Mr. Quincy I did shew. The same I shall endeavour at with Mr. Rogers, who brought me Your last letter, and who seems a modest, mild, and not unsensible Young Gentleman; but these cannot consist in frequent Visitings, and such like, *I write frankly*, to which neither my Genius nor the variety of Affairs, in which I am constantly engaged can submit, but, where I am able, in good offices. Indeed so great have been the number of these affairs, for these eight years past, as to occasion, force me, to neglect many seeming decorums, and almost all Amusements and Diversions; and at times to disanimate and overwhelm me. Yet I thank God I am well! and tending towards more moderate ends; and have the satisfaction to reflect, that the prime of my life has constantly and unswervingly been devoted, spent, in the service of my Country and Mankind, though yet engaged in lesser matters, and cut off from greater and more noble. This I write, not from vanity or affectation, for both I SCORN; but as the truth, and that You may judge in what way only Your friends can be received by me.

Since I had the honor to write to You concerning the establishment of some literary or ingenious useful Society or other at Boston, (which it is apprehended would *effectively* strengthen the University at Cambridge,) and for which I am sorry to find You are not yet ripe; our Society, the noble Society for promoting arts and commerce have taken the matter up in some degree by offering a Premium for *Provincial Gardens*. This was not started by me, or any of my friends, but by Mr. Secretary Pownall,[28] and, I cannot but say, I was well pleased at it on many accounts, and gave my own vote for the passing of it heartily. I was much concerned at Mr. Quincy's misfortune, though I hope he is now at Boston in good health. The pacquet was delivered to me after Mr. Quincy's departure, by means, I apprehend, of the Gentleman with whom he lodged; and the parcells in it for Your friends sent carefully to them, and the letter for Mr. Quincy to the Merchant where he had lodged.

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[27] Probably Hollis himself.

[28] John Pownall, secretary to the Board of Trade, brother of Thomas Pownall, formerly governor of Massachusetts.

If You should be so obliging to send me any publications from Boston in the future, do me the favor to make them up as Parcells, *not as letters*. The last letter came to me by the Post from Falmouth, and cost *half* a Guinea; which letter sent as a parcell, or put into a little box could not have cost half a Crown for freight. With the remaining eight shillings I could have sent You two good old folios, or four quarto's, or eight octavo's, or 8, 12, or 16 tracts, all of them ingenious, or tending to some end; and with Ideas in them, which might have operated for weeks, or months, or years, with satisfaction to Yourself and benefit to the Public: Or I could have subsisted sixteen poor persons comfortably for one day, or maintained the existence of thirty two. Excuse this sally, which least of all is made from Avarice or Illhumour.

This letter I could not get ready in time to dispatch with the box of books, but hope it may reach You about the same time.

October 27. Thus far I had written, with an intention of sending the letter away yesterday, but was prevented. This morning I was favored with a visit from Mr. Mascarene, who brought me another letter of Yours, and one from the Reverend Mr. President Holyoke, his father in law. What I have written to Mr. Holyoke, I beg leave to repeat to You, to wit "That it is true that I am but a private person, and of very midling rank, and live retiredly though in Pall Mall, having few Connexions though known generally to many People; but that if I can serve Mr. Mascarene, in any shape, I will, and so I have assured him."

Great have been the bustles, which have happened on the Resignation of Mr. Pitt, and great they do continue. So far as I am able to judge, (not wholly uninformed,) he has behaved with equal spirit and *temper*, and with real Virtue and Magnanimity. It is true I wish he had not accepted the Pension, especially at this time; yet it was unsought, unlooked for; and cannot surely be considered as a *Reward* for his *prodigious* services, but only as a *Benevolence*: And indeed I do myself esteem it but *subsistance money*, which he has long wanted without the need of it. In this view therefore, let You and I, Dear Sir, continue to wish well to our Country, our King, and their approved, faithful servant William Pitt.

I think I am well informed, that our honest excellent Young King, has ordered, that such of the French prisoners of War as will be in want of cloathing the ensuing winter, shall be cloathed *at his expence.* Extract of various letters received lately from Mr. Jenkins[29] at Rome, relating to the discoveries made there, and in the Neighbourhood within these twelve months; and of the decyphering the Aegyptian characters on the face of the Bust of an Isis, now in the University of Turin, etc., etc., etc., by Mr. Needham, and Mr. Wilcox.

I have the honor to subscribe, unfeignedly, as Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend, and most obedient humble servant

THOMAS HOLLIS

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] Copy of my letter To Dr. Mayhew, at Boston in New England; dated Pall Mall October 27, 1761.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, April 6, 1762

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, I duly received your very obliging letter of October 26, 1761, together with a box of books, prints, etc., etc., for all which, as in duty bound, I return you my humble and very hearty thanks. This I do, not only on account of the real, intrinsic value of the things which you have so generously sent me, but on account of the pains which I see you have therein taken to gratify my curiosity; and which have very fully answered your kind and friendly intention in that respect.

The Books you ordered for the Library of Harvard College, were thankfully, and very respectfully received; and the President informs me, he has since written to you. The publications of the noble Society for the encouragement of Arts, etc., etc., have been dispersed by me according to my best discretion, and in such a manner that I hope they will have a good effect.

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[29] Probably Thomas Jenkins, the English painter and archæologist, who was living in Rome at this period.

I congratulate you on the discoveries made by our learned Countrymen in Italy; and cannot but hope, from the account you have given me, that these may be introductory to some others, which will much oblige the learned world, and possibly prove to be of great utility. You have my repeated thanks for the favours shewn to Mr. Quincy, who is not yet returned. I am also obliged to you for those shewn to Messrs. Mascarene and Rogers. I did not in the least expect that you should have any such regard to my recommendation of those gentlemen, as would be troublesome to your self, or prove any considerable interruption to you, in that course of life and study which you are pursuing, at once to your own honor, and the public benefit. And I should be extremely sorry to have disobliged you in the least degree, in this respect.

I thank you, Sir, for the care which you took of the Pacquet for the Reverend Mr. I. Hollis; which, I understand, indirectly, he has received; and have reason to think that it will answer, or rather has already answered, the design of it.

It has given me considerable trouble to think of the needless expence to which you have been put, by my error in sending you certain publications, made up as *letters* instead of *parcells*. I did not then know, that this made any difference as to the expence. Indeed I had no thoughts but that the vessel would have gone directly to London, instead of Falmouth: and would have much rather chosen not to have sent said publications at all, than to have made them so chargeable to you. I am obliged to you for the hint given me, relative to this matter: And do most firmly believe, as you say, that it proceeds in no degree "from Avarice or Ill-humour." I have had such repeated proofs and demonstrations of your singular goodness and generosity, that it would be extremely absurd, as well as ungrateful in me, to entertain the most slight suspicion of that nature.

Mr. Pitt's resignation has occasioned much discourse even here, and a very general sorrow. As to the necessity or expediency of which, however, we cannot presume to be in any measure competent Judges. Though it seems to be the general oppinion amongst us, from what has since come to pass, that he was not out in his Politics, as to what were the proper measures to be taken with the Spaniard at that Time.

We are apprehensive, Sir, that there is a scheme forming for sending a Bishop into these parts; and that our Governor, Mr. Bernard, a true church-man, is deep in the *plot*.[30] This gives us a good deal of uneasiness, as we think it will be of bad consequence: at the same time that we are much at a loss, how, or in what manner to make opposition to it. If you should happen to hear it discoursed of, I believe I may assure you, that you could not do the body of the people in New England a more essential Service, or lay them under stronger obligations, than by using your influence, in such ways as may appear proper to you, to prevent this project's taking effect. And I should be glad if you would take an opportunity to hint something as to this affair, to Mr. Mauduit, and other leading Dissenters in England; who might be likely, as occasion offered, to appear in opposition to such a proposal.

There has been another Scheme lately set on foot, here, which we are very generally of opinion would be highly prejudicial to Harvard College, and indeed to the general interest of learning amongst us. I mean, founding another College in this Province at about 70 or 80 Miles distance from the Former. A number of persons in that part of the Country, lately petitioned our general Court for a Charter to that End; which Petition, after many debates, was thrown out. Since which Mr. Bernard has taken it upon him, as the King's Governor, to prepare a Charter for that purpose. This step has given an almost universal uneasiness and alarm; not only as we think the scheme itself of bad tendency, but also because we generally suppose, that the Governor has no such authority as he asserts, and has thus assumed to him self, of granting Charters. As soon as the Overseers of Harvard College (consisting of all the Members of his Majesty's Council, the congregational Ministers of Boston, and five other neighbouring towns) heard of the Governor's taking this Step, and before the said Charter was actually issued, though signed and sealed, they had a Meeting. And a committee was appointed to draw up reasons against issuing said Charter, to be laid before his Excellency. Which has been done; those reasons, which are pretty lengthy, having been drawn up by your humble Servant, instead of some more capable person. The Governor has returned an answer to them in writing,—such as it is. He has, however, promised to *suspend* said Charter. But he has intimated to us, that the persons who sued for it, will make application home for another;

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[30] I have found no evidence of Governor Francis Bernard's participation in the project for bishops. Mayhew had had a bitter personal controversy with Bernard, and could hardly be unbiased concerning him. For details of the controversy, see Bradford, *Mayhew*, 216–224.

in which we fear the Governor will give them his countenance. There is accordingly a large Committee of the Board of Overseers, (of which I have the honor to be one) appointed to transmit the Reasons against founding another College, to England; and to lodge them in some proper hands, to be made use of there, if there should be occasion to prevent a Charter's being obtained from thence. Said Committee is also empowered to make use of any other means, which to them may seem proper, to the same End. This was but three or four days ago; and we have not yet had a meeting on the Occasion. So that I cannot inform you, to whom we shall more directly transmit the said reasons, or make our application. Mr. Mauduit has been mentioned by some persons, on the occasion. When the committee meets, I shall propose, if they are not sent immediately to you, that the person to whom they are sent, shall at least be desired to communicate them to you, and to some other worthy Gentlemen; whose united and friendly assistance we shall earnestly crave, if there should be occasion to prevent a scheme's taking effect, which, we apprehend, would be of very pernicious consequence. Of which you may perhaps have more lights to form a judgment, when you see the said Reasons. And I know you are so great a friend to this Country, and to learning in general, that you would chearfully lend your Assistance, in any proper way, in opposition to whatever appeared to you, prejudicial to either.[31]

I am, Sir, with the warmest regards, and most sincere respect,
Your Obliged, and most Obedient Humble Servant
J. Mayhew

P. S. Our general Court has lately incorporated a considerable Number of persons here, by the name of the Society for propagating christian Knowledge among the Indians [of] North America: Of which Society I am a Member.[32] The Act of Incorporation is sent Home for his Majesty's Approbation; without which it cannot take Effect. I shall send you a Copy of it. We have about £2,000 sterling already subscribed as a fund. We are not without apprehensions that our *good*

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[31] For further details, see Oxenbridge Thacher to Benjamin Prat, undated, 1 *Proceedings*, xx. 46–48; and Henry Lefavour, "The Proposed College in Hampshire County in 1762": *Proceedings*, lxvi. 53–79.

[32] Act of February 11, 1762, Chapter 32 of the Sessions of 1761–1762; *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, iv (1890), 520–523. Mayhew is named in the act as one of the charter members of the society.

Friends of the Church of England will endeavour to obstruct this scheme; but hope, to no purpose. If our charter is confirmed, we shall endeavour to get our Subscription enlarged, both here and in other parts; and apply ourselves to this business; in the prosecution of which we are, however, in expectation of meeting with many difficulties.

I am, Sir, as before, Your's, etc.

J. M.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pallmall, July 28, 1762

DEAR SIR, I rejoice to find by your acceptable favor of April 6, that the box sent You in October last arrived safe, and that the contents of it proved acceptable to You.

The Scheme of sending Bishops into Your and other parts of the British Colonies has been long talked of, and is not unlikely, some time or other to take place. I do not think, however, that it will be attempted at present, but whenever it is and succeeds, shall be heartily concerned at it.

The properest person, that I know of, to manage an opposition to such a scheme is Mr. Jasper Mauduit; who is a worthy and an active Gentleman, has been for some years, especially since Dr. Avery's decline,[33] a leader among the dissenters, and in connection with People in Power, and now, I apprehend, is likewise *Agent* for your Province.

He is also, for reasons before assigned, the likeliest to traverse with efficacy any application that may be made here at home for granting a Charter for the erection of a new College in Your province; an application, which should it succeed, would not only be prejudicial to Harvard College, and the General Interest of learning amongst You, but throw You again, by degrees, it is probable, with the other, into those selfsame confusions, that Your Ancestors felt once here at home, and magnanimously got rid of, by seeking out the Woods of America.

I am now to thank You for the great esteem, and evident good opinion which You are pleased to entertain of me by your letter; and, in a certain sense, the very honorable share that You wish I should take in the transactions of your Province here at home; and I do thank You heartily and abundantly on these accounts.

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[33] Benjamin Avery, physician, former Presbyterian minister, treasurer of Guy's Hospital, London, and for some years secretary of the so-called Dissenting Deputies (a committee of prominent dissenters), died in 1764.

It is necessary however, that I should write to You on this occasion with *plainness* and sincerity; the rather as we are at a great distance, and that it will be suitable to the frankness of both our dispositions and our friendship.

Know then, that I have long declined all *public* buisness [*sic*], or the taking charges or leads of any kind.

That my whole time is filled up as an uncharged undistinguished individual of large Societies; or in certain more private Studies and pursuits.

Likewise, that I am more and more resolved to avoid all public buisness; and am thinking seriously in what manner by degrees to withdraw into the Country, and to settle there.

That I should be sorry therefore, as well as on other accounts, if You, or the Gentlemen of Your Province should have recourse to me on any public occasion; and much more concerned, to deny them in form, and to return them their papers.

That I beg our correspondence may go on as it began, in a literate manner ONLY, without intermixture of buisness of any kind public or private; much less charges, or leads of buisness.

The above notwithstanding, The College and Your province may at all times rely on my best good offices, *generally,* in their behalf, but without charge on their part, or junction of any sort with other persons.

I heartily wish success to Your new incorporated Society, which will civilize the Indians by degrees, and, no doubt, be otherwise of service to them.

Concerning the Dissertation of the Reverend Samuel Mather sent me last year;[34] and, contrary to a promise given me then by Griffiths,[35] not noticed by the Reviewers—all which in confidence.

This day I have sent You a small box and parcell, free of freight. The box contains three sets of prints, and two copies of Perry's "Series of English Medals" N. 1; which You will please to accept and distribute, as by the directions on them will fully appear. The parcel contains a number of the publications of the Society, the noble Society for promoting arts and commerce. One of them is for Yourself. The others for the Public at Boston and in its neighbourhood.

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[34] *A Dissertation Concerning the most venerable Name of Jehovah* (Boston, 1760). This passage and other passages in the retained copies of letters of Hollis here published are evidently paraphrases of what was said in the originals.

[35] Ralph Griffiths, owner and editor of the *Monthly Review.*

The Nation, which at his Majestie's accession to the Throne was all harmony and Concord, is now divided much more into Parties than I ever knew it. I am with unfeigned respect, Dear Sir

Your affectionate friend, and most obedient servant
THOMAS HOLLIS

SAMUEL MATHER TO THOMAS HOLLIS[36]

Boston, New England, December 11, 1762

HONORED SIR, It is now about a Year since I received your kind and obliging Letter, in Answer to the Letter, which I wrote unto You.

I am very thankful for the kind notice, which You was pleased to take of my Dissertation. I have now the Pleasure to acquaint You that several learned Friends both in *Scotland* and *England* have wrote to me in such a manner concerning it as has exceeded much my own Expectation: And, as I am very sensible of their Candor and Goodness, I cannot but gratefully acknowledge it.

Within this current Year I have been busily emploied in writing some Disquisitions on very important and interesting Subjects. One of These I beg leave to enclose to You and inscribe to your Name, if it be thought worthy to be communicated to the Public.[37] As I am diffident of my own Composures, I commonly offer them to select Friends to read, before I think of sending them abroad. Accordingly I have desired the learned Dr. *Lardner* in *Hoxton* Square, *London*[38] to give it an attentive Reading; and, if he approve of it and will signifie by a few Prefatory Lines, that it deserves Consideration, I am willing, that it should be made public: And, since you kindly signified to me, that Mr. *Griffiths* in the *Strand* would print for me; I desire, that You would offer it, with my Compliments, unto Him. I hope, that your Modesty will not make You unwilling to receive my Dedication; especially since my Gratitude to your excellent great Uncle, as well as Respect to Yourself, is intended in it. Pray, Sir, be so good as to let Dr. *Lardner* have it, and give his Judgment on it, before any Thing further be done about it.

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[36] This letter and one of May 19, 1763, from Hollis to Mather, among the papers presented by Dr. Eliot to the Society, are included because of the light they throw on the correspondence of Mayhew with Hollis.

[37] I have not identified these "Disquisitions," which apparently were not published.

[38] Nathaniel Lardner, D.D. (1684–1768), distinguished nonconformist scholar.

I now beg your Acceptance of my *Apology* for our Churches,[39] which was published here above twenty Years ago: It is the onely one I have: And, although it has but a rough American Dress; yet, as its meaning is good and it is on the right Side, the Side of Christian Liberty, I hope, that the Stranger will be kindly accepted by You.

At the same Time I would tender to you a Sermon preached not long since on a public Occasion.[40] As my honored Fathers and Brethren were so kind as to thank me in a Body for it, and voted, that it would be agreable to them to have it printed, and a considerable Number of Gentlemen, both Ministers and others, desired by a written Paper, that *I would allow it to be* printed; I have consented to it. By This, You will see, what Apprehensions we have of the *pastoral Care.* And although This may be out of your Line; yet, I trust, it will not be quite unacceptable to you.

My Kinsman Mr. *Rogers* is safely returned and full of Business at *Boston:* He mentions you with great Respect and tender Affection, on the Account of your complaisant and obliging Carriage towards Him.

I wish it was in my Power to do any Thing grateful to You, or that it might be in my Power to serve or oblige any Friend of Yours, who may come to this City. But, if it may not be so, You will kindly *accept the will for the Deed.*

Long may you continue improving in Wisdom, in Vertue, in Usefulness, and in the great Satisfaction resulting from the Consciousness thereof! And may You and I happily meet and rejoice Forever, together with our worthy Friends, who have gone before us in the Paths of Vertue and Integrity! These are the sincere and fervent Wishes of Dear and Honoured Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and faithful humble Servant
S. MATHER.[41]

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[39] *An Apology For the Liberties of the Churches in New England* (Boston, 1738).

[40] *Of the Pastoral Care: A Sermon Preached to the . . . Ministers . . . at their Annual Convention . . . May 27, 1762* (Boston, 1762).

[41] Samuel Mather (Harvard 1723), youngest son of Cotton Mather, was the minister of the Bennett Street Church, Boston. The sons referred to in the postscript were Thomas and Increase. For a biographical sketch of Samuel Mather, see Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* VII (Boston, 1945), 216–238.

P. S. Since my writing this Letter, I am afflicted with the news of the Death of a desireable Son at *Halifax*, who has been 3 years successively Surgeon to three Regiments raised by this Province for the King's Service. He neglected himself for the sake of his poor men, who returned sick from *NewfoundLand* with the Camp Fever, and lost his Life in endeavouring to save theirs. It is a Comfort, that he performed his Duty well, finished his Course I understand comfortably and is much lamented.

I have a Son, my Youngest now about 21, who was resolved for the Sea: To which I consented, as it was his own Choice: He was second Mate of a great Ship, and prest aboard a Man of War, as going to *England:* He has been aboard the King's Ships 3 Years, or more: He was at the taking of the *Havana* in Commodore *Kepple's* Squadron: He is aboard the *Orford*. I should be very thankful if He should live to get to *England*, that some Friends would endeavour to get him cleared with Honour and returned with what belongs to Him to his Countrey and Father's House: For He is pretty unexperienced. I beg your Pardon for these Hints. You will kindly impute it to the Heart of a Parent full of Concern.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, February 21, 1763

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, I duly received your Favor of July 28, 1762, together with the Box, etc. And, in one Word, I VERY HEARTILY thank you for both; and should have acknowledged this double obligation sooner, had I had a convenient opportunity. The Anecdote concerning Mr. M[athe]r and his pompous *Nothing*, shall be kept secret by me.

> Such bookful Blockheads, ignorantly read,
> With Loads of learned Lumber in their Head—
> Such labour'd Nothings in so strange a Style,
> Amaze th' unlearn'd, and make the learned smile.[42]

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[42] *The Works of Alexander Pope ...*, William Roscoe, Editor, (London, 1824): "Essay on Criticism," Part III, lines 612–613, page 125:

> The bookful blockhead ignorantly read,
> With loads of learned lumber in his head.

Part II, lines 326–327, page 95:

> Such labour'd nothings, in so strange a style,
> Amaze th' unlearn'd, and make the learned smile.

What you last sent for President Holyoke and for the College was taken due Care of, and gratefully received. The Publications of the Society, etc., were disposed of by me, according to my best Discretion, with a view to answer the noble Ends thereof. And I am glad to find, that some of my own Countrymen and Townsmen, are thought worthy to have their names mentioned in the list, as corresponding Members of the Society: They are indeed very worthy Gentlemen, and all, my Acquaintance and Friends.

I send you herewith two Sermons which I lately published on a very interesting Subject; and, as I think, not generally well understood.[43] I beg your kind Acceptance of them. I send in the same Box several Copies of the same, and also Letters to divers Gentlemen in London: Of which I humbly request your Care. As to the Copy directed to Dr. Morton, I would not have it sent or delivered, till you have read the Sermons; and not then, unless you think it will be kindly received, as a Mark of my Respect and Gratitude. I understand, the Ship by which I propose to send, is on the point of sailing: For which reason, I beg you to excuse the Hurry, Indistinctness and Inaccuracy of this.

I am, Dear Sir, With the sincerest and most grateful Regards,
Your most Obliged Humble Servant
J. MAYHEW

P. S. If any of the Gentlemen to whom I have written, should be dead, I desire you to burn the letters sent them, and to dispose of the Sermons as you think proper. I have a Volume of Sermons almost out of the Press; of which I shall beg your Acceptance when published. Yours, etc.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, April 27, 1763

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, I duly received from you a small Box with two Dissertations for myself, and a parcel for our College; with a Note or Memorandum for me, bearing Date October 19, 1762. I return you my hearty Thanks; and took due care of the parcel for the College.

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[43] Probably *Two Sermons on the Nature, Extent, and Perfection of the Divine Goodness. Thanksgiving, Dec. 9, 1762* (Boston, 1763).

In my Answer to your favor of July 28, 1762, I informed you that I had a Volume then in the Press; which I now send you, and beg your kind acceptance of it.[44] I also send you *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society,* etc., which were published the last Week. The immediate Occasion of which you will perceive by Mr. Apthorp's *Considerations,* etc., sent you therewith. Many persons here are of opinion, that if the *Observations,* etc., were reprinted in London, it might be of Service in more respects than one. You will be able to form a better judgment when you have read them. Only if they should be reprinted, I hope more care will be taken to have them done correctly, than has been taken in reprinting any thing of mine there heretofore: For all that I have seen, have been done very negligently, and even scandalously; which is an Abuse both of the Writer and Readers.

Just as these *Observations* came out of the Press, we had authentic advices here, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the *pious* Society aforesaid, made great opposition to *our* newly incorporated Society in America receiving the royal Approbation. So that, it seems, they will neither do any thing considerable themselves towards civilizing and christianizing the Indians, nor allow us to do it, if they can prevent it! But my Sentiments about the Views and conduct of that Society are sufficiently explained in the *Observations* aforesaid.

I send several copies of these; of which I request your obliging Care, according to the Directions in the Title page.

I have, for a year or two past, had an epistolary correspondence with, and received considerable obligations from, the Honorable William Allen, Esq; of Pennsylvania; a gentleman of a most amiable and excellent Character, the richest Man in that Province, and the chief Justice of it. He had his education in England, I think at Cambridge; but is a professed Dissenter. He informed me by letter the last week, that he was soon bound to London, with a design to continue there a year or two; and that he has some time had a Correspondence with Dr. Chandler.[45] He requested me to mention to him some of my Correspondents in England; and I took the Liberty to name you to him amongst some others. He needs no Recommendation of mine: But I think it much to my Honor, that I can speak of him as One, in whose Friendship I have a share.

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[44] Probably *Christian Sobriety: Being Eight Sermons on Titus* II. *6. Preached to . . . the Young Men . . . attending . . . the West Church* (Boston, 1763).

[45] Samuel Chandler, D.D., minister at the Old Jewry, controversial writer and one of the most influential nonconformists in England at this time and until his death in 1766.

I hope all who regard interests of religion and liberty in New England, will do all that in them lies, both to prevent the establishing of Bishops here, and to get our Society's charter confirmed by the crown. These things seem to me to be of great importance both to our civil and religious welfare.

I am, Dear Sir, with unfeigned Esteem and Gratitude,
Your most obliged, Humble Servant
J. Mayhew—in haste.

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] MEM. Destroyed two other letters dated April 30, and May 4, of little consequence; including only, the corrections of some errors in *The Observations*; which corrections were made immediately on the receit of them.

T. H.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, May 17, 1763

Dear Sir, I return you my humble thanks for the copy of two very fine sermons with which you were pleased to favor me. The same does Dr. Morton for his copy, under many unfeigned declarations of respect. The other copys of the sermons, with the letters, were all carefully delivered, and, I apprehend, I shall have a letter to forward to You from one Gentleman on their account, the excellent Dr. Lardner.

Your poetry describes exactly the Person for whom it was intended. That person has sent me again, though I hoped he had dropped me, two publications of his by way of present; and a *Disquisition* in manuscript TO PUBLISH for him, subject to the judgment and revision of Dr. Lardner, with a *dedication* in manuscript to me by way of *Douceur*. I never, yet, was a publisher; nor ever did, nor ever will accept a dedication: And for Dr. Lardner, he has written to me what follows "I have read over the manuscript, and, at my desire a judicious friend has also read it; and I have consulted others about it. All are of opinion that it cannot be published here to any advantage." The issue will be then, that the *Disquisition* and *Dedication* will be returned, so soon as a letter now preparing from Dr. Lardner can be added to them;

and, that I shall seek, with civility but firmness, to get quit of so learned and worthy, but strange and indiscreet a correspondent.

I have again taken the liberty to forward to You a small box of books, tracts, and prints.

We are in much greater political uneasiness and confusion now, than when I wrote to You the last year, but from the same causes. What they will end in no one can say. I hope, in the *real* ousting of one man, the same who figured as chief in the rueful transaction of November 3, 1762,[46] his creatures, hirelings; and the bringing into play again of the old friends of liberty and the house of Hanover, and above all of WILLIAM PITT.

I am Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and most obedient servant
and friend
T. H.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO SAMUEL MATHER

Sir, Inclosed is a parcel from Dr. Lardner. It contains the manuscript which You desired me to lay before him, and a letter.

I likewise forward to You the dedication to that manuscript. Dedications I never have accepted nor ever will accept, and I am utterly below them. I return you, however, my humble thanks for the honor You intended me, as well as for two curious publications.

What Griffiths said to me was, not "*that he would print for you*," but "that the Reviewers should take notice of your dissertation in the Review, and would, probably, do the same by any other which You might send them." And yet no notice was taken of it in the Review. As matters of this kind are out of my way, I beg the favor of You to dispense me from them in the future.

Having no connection in the Marine Department, I could not serve you, and I was sorry for it.

I am with great respect, Sir,

[Thomas Hollis]

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] Copy of my letter to The Reverend S. Mather at Boston, in New England; dated Pall Mall, May 19, 1763.

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[46] The references here are probably to Lord Bute and to the Preliminary Treaty of Peace with France, which Hollis apparently considered too liberal to defeated France and Spain.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, November 21, 1763

Dear and much Honoured Sir, I have before me your Favor of May 17th last. It gives me great pleasure that two such capable judges as you and Dr. Morton approve of the Sermons on the *Divine Goodness*; as you inform me in very obliging terms. There is a Piece now in the Press here, against them; written by a furious, immethodical *Methodist* Minister. By what I hear, he thinks I have represented *God* much *better* than he is; and undertakes to prove me in a *dangerous* Error or Heresy in that respect. From his character, and what I have heard of his performance, I believe I shall not take any Notice of it; but determine nothing till I see it.

In May last, I sent you my *Observations* on *the Charter*, etc. Which, I conclude, you received; because I have since received letters from some Gentlemen to whom I sent at the same Time. And I humbly thank you, Sir, for the obliging Care which you took of the Copies directed to them. I have been repeatedly attacked in a most outrageous manner, on the Score of the *Observations* aforesaid. I take no Notice of any of these Performances, except two: my *Defence* against which (this day published) I now send you, together with two or three Copies for other persons, with letters; though I fear almost, that I trespass too much on your goodness, by so often giving you Trouble of this kind.

I received, together with your last, another Box of Books. Indeed, Sir, you so confound me with your repeated favors of this Sort, that I know not what to say by way of Acknowledgement; I shall therefore leave you to conjecture with what sentiments of gratitude I receive them. Though I have of late been much engaged, I have read most of the Books and Publications which you last sent me, excepting two or three which I had before met with. Mr. F[lemin]g's[47] *Palladium* I esteem as an excellent Performance; and shall endeavour to get it reprinted here. *Tellimaed* is a most curious and entertaining Book.[48] The several Political Publications sent me, confirm the Apprehensions which I have all along had concerning the P———ce;[49] and make me almost tremble for the Consequences. May God unite the Hearts of all wise and good men;—all who love liberty and Great-Britain, and hate French ambition and S[cotc]h Politicks. By the *Spirit* of the Notes on the New Edition of the admirable *Sydney*, I am so well satisfied *who* added them, as not to desire *any Information on that head*.

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[47] [Caleb Fleming], *The Palladium of Great Britain and Ireland; or historical strictures of liberty, from before the Reformation, down to the present times. . . .* (London, 1762). Caleb Fleming, D.D., was pastor of Pinners' Hall congregation, London, and a well-known nonconformist controversial writer.

[48] *Telliamed: or Discourses between an Indian Philosopher and a French Missionary . . .*, by Benoît de Maillet. Probably the London, 1750, translation from the French.

If you should ever favor me with another letter, be pleased to inform me, whether the Wh[itehea]d,[50] who got *posted* for the infamous letter from the *Cocoa-Tree*, was the same who some years since wrote a Satire on the Court, called *Manners*, which I have in Manuscript, but never saw in print.

I am glad, Sir, you do not think I injured a certain Gentleman in this Town, by the application of some lines from Pope, to his *lucubrations*. He is indeed himself a strange *Composition*; but he has some good properties, and I heartily wish him well.

The Contests in England seem to me to have arisen almost as high already, as they can possibly rise, without terminating in what I so much dread the thoughts of, that I shall not even mention it. I say with you, "God permit what is for his honor and our Benefit, but grant us intire resignation to his will." If I did not firmly believe that He governs the world, I should wish myself well and speedily out of it, and even out of *existence*. May you, honoured and Dear Sir, and all whom you love, be the special Care of his providence.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged, and ever Faithful Servant
J. Mayhew

P. S. Sir, Duplicates of Books sent, are distributed agreeably to your Directions, and my best Discretion.

I write and send this in too much haste to transcribe—which is indeed commonly the case; for I never kept a Copy of more than one letter which I sent you. Your goodness will excuse inaccuracies; and take care that I shall not be exposed by what I write, except to *yourself*, who I hope, already know the *worst* of me.

J. M.

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[49] Peace, referring to the Peace Treaty of Paris of 1763? Or Prince, referring to George III? These are sheer guesses.

[50] As appears from Hollis's reply of April 4, 1764, this is Paul Whitehead, the satirist.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, December 6, 1763

DEAR SIR, I had the honor to write to You May 17.

Not long after I received three favors of yours, dated April 27, April 30, and May 4, which ought to have been answered earlier.

I return You my hearty thanks for a very fine volume of sermons, and for the *Observations.*

The other copies of the *Observations* were corrected with my own hand, and then distributed, immediately, as desired.

It is my request, that in the future You do not put me into any sort of connection *whatsoever,* with Mr. Agent Mauduit, or with his Brother once the Reverend Mr. Israel Mauduit.

Little can I serve Your Cause, the Cause of Liberty in New England; but what I can I will serve it, though by ways, at times, unknown to any one.

You are in no real danger, at present, in respect to the creation of Bishops in America, if I am rightly informed; though a matter extreamly desired by our Clergy and Prelates, and even talked of greatly, at this time, among themselves. You cannot however be too much on your guard, in this so very important an affair.

I have taken the Liberty to send You by the Brig *Katy*, Captain Gilbert Maxwell, a small box, directed to You free of freight. It contains a few books and tracts of which I request your benevolent acceptance. Among the tracts are two copies of the "*Observations,*" with East Apthorp's publication annexed to them; which have been republished here, in reality, though under a feigned name, by A. Millar, Printer to the *Episcopal* Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts: and, it is apprehended, with tolerable exactness.

To have republished "The *Observations*" earlier, in the Summer, when the Town was empty, would have been to little purpose, other than to have had them disregarded wholly as old in the Winter. And to have omitted Apthorp's tract might have occasioned some persons to suspect a truth and importance in it, which it certainly has not. But now, both are seen at least, in some degree, and judged and talked of.

I confess to have spoken to A. Millar about this Republication, and to have lent him the tracts for his perusal to that end. Having read them he acknowledged the warping commendam art of one writer;

and the intelligent, faithful, manly fervor of the other writer, with the greatness and excellence of his Cause: But said the *Observations* were unlikely to meet a current sale from their size and from the times. He then proposed the giving an abridgment of them; as had proposed earlier, in private conversation, a learned ingenuous friend of mine. To that I had many objections; and would not suffer the originality, spirit, character of a very fine tract, which, from its compass, warmth, might be deemed too diffused in some few respects, to be broke in upon, or altered, or endangered, in any shape.

At length after various meetings, it was agreed, that the *Observations* should be printed intire, by Millar though anonimously; and that from Candor and a good Cause Apthorp's tract should be added to them: and thus they appeared at the meeting of the Parliament.

In the whole of this affair Mr. Millar behaved handsomely. And if I went out of my usual course in it, it was purely to help on a noble cause, though in a small degree, and, Sir, to evidence my respect to You.

I have now to request, and I do it unfeignedly, and *in earnest*, that, in the future, You do not directly nor indirectly publish ought concerning me, nor take notice in any shape of my name.

Was sorry to observe, that in his *Observations*, he had not remarked the strange impropriety of Episcopal Propagators attempting the conversion of foreign Protestants to Churchism, when their own People at home were perverting yearly to Popery, by hundreds and thousands, and ten thousands.

This is the sore of sores, by which to gaul at Pleasure and beyond expression our Prelates and Commendamists, when touched by a master.

All the Ministers of my time have sought the Parliamentary influence of the wealthier Papists, have enjoyed it, and connived at their practices and perversions.

The Bishops and Clergy on promotion, observing this procedure, as also from other motives, have taken the tone; and connived likewise at these practices and perversions.

Some few of the inferior Clergy, without secret, without art, yet learned, able, active, faithful, have stepped-forth against that foulest —Hydra Popery; but to little public Benefit, being unsupported by their leaders, and to sure detriment in their fortunes.

Concerning a new, large, handsome Popish Chapel built in Stanhope street, May fair, by the Neapolitan Minister.

Concerning the Popish Chapel belonging to the Sardinian Minister, which was burnt about two years ago, as given out by accident or knavery, though probably by Popish contrivance and design; that it is rebuilt, is much enlarged, has an Organ in it, and is, to use an expression of the Papists themselves, *one of the handsomest* PLACES OF WORSHIP about Town.

Concerning the Popish Vicar General or Chief Director (Dr. Butler) in England. That He is about 50 years of age; is a Doctor of Sorbonne, and Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; and usually resides in Pall Mall, the center of this metropolis; that he has great learning, ability, character; and is one of the most supple, quick, obliging, plausible, insinuating Gentlemen that I ever saw, for seen him I have and in my own house too, on an accidental occasion.

Much more might be added concerning Papists; but these matters shall suffice, which he is at Liberty to use *generally* at his pleasure, without notice of me of any kind.

Some account of our political and other domestic situation, all which to my understanding, are in as wretched a plight as our Religious Concerns, or worse.

Conclusion.

[THOMAS HOLLIS]

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, April 4, 1764

DEAR SIR, My last was December 6, 1763, and accompanied a small box, which was shipped on board the *Katy*, Captain Gilbert Maxwell.

Since then I received your favor of November 21, 1763, with a copy of a second tract or *Defence*, which You were pleased to send me, for which I return my humble thanks, and some copies for other persons with letters, all of which were immediately distributed as directed.

The deserved honest commendation of this *Defence* I cannot give You in better words than in those of the Reverend and Excellent Mr. Fleming, in a letter to me dated February 3, 1764. "I have read the tracts sent Dr. *Lardner* from Dr. *Mayhew*, and am *clearly* of opinion, that the Dr. has acquitted himself as a Master of his argument. He has even proved, that what civil establishment was given the New England Churches, was by no means episcopal. That petition to Charles II in 1679, is conclusive. Indeed his opponents are under those prejudices of education and interest, that they are incapable of seeing evidence. I am highly pleased with the *monthly Reviewers*[51] upon his observations, in the allusion to the Devils Cannon ball in Milton. Not any thing could have been more expressive."

Mr. Fleming's *Palladium* is indeed an excellent performance. I now send You another curious tract of his. It is [a] pity, in these scrub times especially, that so good and *active* a man should be now advanced in years, and hold his existence by so slender and ailing a Constitution.

I suppose You know that *Telliamed* is the name of the author of the curious book so called, reversed.

The writer of "Manners," a Satire, *Whitehead*, is the Person who got posted for the letter from the *Cocoa Tree*. And many other as honest Gentlemen have got, and will get posted, it is probable, by such like honorable means.

Immediately on the receit of your *Defence* I gave it to Millar, who has caused it to be reprinted, though like your *Observations* under another printer's name, he being Printer in ordinary to the Episcopal propagators, and it will be published in a few days, I hope with tolerable exactness.

In this second publication Millar has again behaved handsomely, in more respects than one.

Here in England few tracts sell well, and have a general currency, unless of an extraordinary and taking nature indeed, that exceed a shilling in purchase, on which account conciseness, or brevity with clearness, should at all times, on all subjects, be *particularly* affected and studied.

Of this new edition I have the honor to send You 4 copies. I likewise send You three copies of a very *artful* tract, "semblance of worth not substance" intitled "An Answer to Dr. Mayhew's observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," which tract I suppose your bookseller, or some of your friends may have already conveyed to You.

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[51] The January, 1764, issue of the *Monthly Review* had favorably reviewed the London reprint of Mayhew's *Observations.*

I am confident it is written either by the A. B. himself[52] or by one of his Chaplains or Dependents, with very great corrections by him.

I was going to have added, that I had had the honor to be acquainted with that prelate above twenty years, and apprehended myself to be not altogether unacquainted with his stile of writing and conversing. Also, that since his elevation to the Primacy, and the observation that he left Popery unnoticed, widespreading, intolerant, overturning Popery, and yet prosecuted with bitterest severity, *Anet*,[53] a poor old speculative Philosopher; that he shewed no hearty affection to Liberty of any sort, nor those men who loved it; that he trod with glee the mired Court paths; and juggled for Fame with his own order who yet would never grant it him, knowing him well to be an Irregular and Interloper amongst them from the medical Tribe; I had declined in my visits to him: And that now, on further observation of his plan and views in regard to America, and the extreme poorness of his conduct in having fixed a Spy[54] upon You, for ever, *himself*, in the center of your Land; and his general actions and connections everywhere; I had determined, pass me the boldness of the expression, to drop him wholly.

The Winter Campaign is now nearly ended. The Treasury had the numbers they wanted, and the rest have remained Patriots.

By what I collect, it seems probable, that Mr. Pitt will be made Secretary of State in no long time, and some others of the opposition be permitted to take share in places; not from any fear the Ministry are under of them, or noble pursuit in which they wish to employ Mr. Pitt, but solely in hopes thereby to still all popular clamour: And in that way it is possible they might stifle clamour till the next general war, when woe to Britan [*sic*], who, by its leaders, at the close of the last, has seemed to renounce the very providence of the Almighty.

I lament the loss of the Public library at Harvard College, and wonder at the occasion of it, exceedingly.

The ensuing autumn it is my intention to look out for a House in the West of England, the nearer the better to an Estate which I am possessed of in Dorsetshire, where there is none, to reside at.

I have served my Country faithfully eleven years past, the flower of

[52] The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker.

[53] Peter Annet (1693–1769), an English deistical writer, author of *Tracts of a Certain Free Enquirer*, published in 1761.

[54] Hollis, as appears from his letter of March 4, 1765, to Mayhew, means the Reverend East Apthorp, the Society's missionary in the new church at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

my life, having travelled for six years before chiefly to that end, though in silence and in small matters; I am cut-off by the times from serving it with honor, in greater; I am upwards of forty; My hair is changing grey; nor can I make the Body answer to the strength of my mind, nor that to the vigor of earlier times; and on all accounts it should now seem, that I have little else to consider than retirement. That Retirement however, unless disturbed by public confusions, which indeed in the run of it are not unlikely to happen, I hope will pass not only in innocence and agricul[tural] attentions, a youthful favorite employment of mine; but also still with scope to some sort of benefit to others. Length of days, honor, happiness attend You my Dear Sir, with the knowledge that I am

Your affectionate friend and most obedient servant
T. H.

P.S. A friend just now informs me by letter, "That he is given to understand, that some very severe strictures are about to be published, by way of tract, on *Dr. Mayhew's observations*." If the tract should appear I will take care to send it You, as soon as I shall see it advertized. The author, it is likely, is some creature direct of the A. B.'s; or some Formalist, who yearns after preferment, and seeks it hard by writing after the System and Passions of his chief: and many things may be written by a learned artful man, in such a controversy, not altogether without speciousness and plausibility.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, April 22, 1764

Dear Sir, I had the honor of writing to you April 4.

I now send You a few copies of two tracts which have appeared since, one tract, (the Claims of the Church of England seriously examined) by the Reverend Caleb Fleming, as excellent as the other (Considerations on the Penal laws against Roman Catholics in England) is detestable; and a curious letter from Mr. Fleming that respects them, which letter You are at Liberty to keep, but not to shew to any one.

It is [a] pity that You are not in direct correspondence with that able, active, good man, so like in turn of thinking and disposition to

Yourself; and the more as Dr. Lardner, his friend and Neighbour, is so aged.

The *Considerations* shall, somehow, certainly be answered; that is against the Winter.

The Conduct of the Church of England in respect to Papists and Popery, appears to me to have been always strange or wicked, and never more strange nor wicked than at this time. It is the WEAK side of the Leaders of that Church, and they may be constantly attacked on it with very great advantage.

It is now generally agreed, that the A. B. was the author of the Answer to the Observations. I do not find that he is thought to have gained any *real* reputation by it; though many think there is much of a certain kind of art in it, even the most antient art or Mystery of Priestcraft.

I have not heard any thing concerning *the very severe strictures* since my last.

There is no News. We are more and more scotified, and are likely to be, for our ———[55] is, by all account, a Booby.

I am with highest respect, Dear Sir, etc.

[THOMAS HOLLIS]

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, I had the favor and honor of your very obliging Letter of December 6, 1763. If, as you intimate, the volume of *Sermons* and the *Observations* were not unacceptable to You, I have much the more reason to be content that they were published. I am much obliged to you for the care taken of those Copies of the *Observations*, that were sent to other persons. I shall not forget your injunctions as to putting you into any kind of *connection* with two gentlemen mentioned by you. I am at least *externally*, on good terms with them hitherto; but I well know that this world was never free from *Janus's* and *Temporizers*, both in religion and politics. Your real desire of our prosperity in all respects, I doubt not; and am glad if there is no danger of b[isho]ps being speedily appointed for America. I very sincerely thank you for the box of books, etc., sent me with your last; and find by it, that you are never weary of doing me favors and kindnesses, how much soever I may be ashamed of having them so multiplied. I am also gratefully to acknowledge the friendship shewn me respecting the re-printing of the *Observations*. They are done more correctly than ever I had any thing printed before, whether in London or here; which I attribute intirely to your obliging care. Your whole conduct in this affair, is extremely agreeable to me; much more so, I am perswaded, than Mr. M[i]ll[a]r's would be to the *Society*, if they knew of it.

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[55] Presumably "King," since George III was thought to be still very much under the influence of the Scot, Lord Bute. Mayhew's reply of October 17, 1764, indicates that he thought Hollis referred to the King.

My *Defence* of the *Observations* against the *Candid Examination*, and a *Letter to a Friend*, etc., I sent you last Autumn, or in the beginning of Winter; which I have reason to think came safe to hand, though I have not heard so, directly from you. The London *Answer* to the *Observations* was sent to me by Mr. Is[rael] Mauduit. People here generally suppose, whether truly or not, that the A[rch] B[ishop] of C[an]t[erbur]y had *at least* a considerable hand in this *Answer*; which, I think, is a very *plausible* performance. It has lately been reprinted here; and my *Remarks* there on, published this Week, I send you by this opportunity. I send also a few Copies to particular Gentlemen, of which your kind care is humbly requested: Among the rest, one to a gentleman, with whom I was desired not to put you into *any sort of connexion.* As this may be sent to him by you, without his knowing *through whose hands it came*, I hope I shall not, in this respect, be thought to have disregarded your direction aforesaid; which I would not by any means do. I also send you a few Copies of the *Observations*, undirected, to be disposed of as you may think proper. I send you likewise my *Letter of Reproof* to one Mr. *Cleaveland*[56] in these parts; occasioned by his abusive Attack on my Sermons on the *Goodness of God*.

You will perceive by the *Remarks* on the London *Answer* to the *Observations*, that I have taken your hint, and made a *free use* of what you said about a certain important affair;[57] though not a *freer* one, than I supposed agreeable to your intention, if I should have occasion. I thought I had a very fair opening given me by the *Answerer* himself; as I believe you will also think: And I am much obliged to you for your information on that head. Probably I might not have said any thing particularly on it, had it not been for your hints, and that I was extremely desirous to do what I thought might be in some degree acceptable to you. No man living knows, or shall know, from whom those hints came; or indeed, that I had received any of that sort, from any Correspondent.

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[56] The Reverend John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, published an *Essay, To defend some of the most important Principles . . . against the injurious Aspersions cast . . . by Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. in his late Thanksgiving Sermons . . .* (Boston, 1763).

[57] The words "a certain important affair" are interlined above a canceled portion which originally read: "[these pre]tenses of popery in England."

I observe that in a blank leaf fronting the title Page of Mrs. *Macauleys* very sensible not to say *manly,* History of England, are written these words, *From the Auther* [*sic*]; not in your hand. I understand them to import, that they were from that most ingenious Lady to You. But there is a bare, and only bare possibility, that they may import her book to be designed by her as a present to me. If that should be the case, though I think it quite improbable, I must beg you, as an Acquaintance of her's, to present my hearty thanks, and very respectful Compliments to her; and to make them as acceptable as may be.

The account which you give me, as well as others, of the political state of Affairs in England, is extremely afflictive to me; and fills me with very gloomy apprehensions, though I think there is nothing in my natural temper, inclining to melancholy, or a dejection of spirits. May HE that governs the world, avert the evils which there is so much cause to fear! If England cannot at this day be justly called *the Land of Patriots,* it is not destitute of some glorious ones: among whom I cannot help reckoning you as one, even though you are so averse from *appearing* to have any concern in the public, national Affairs. God increase the number, and give them at once all needful *magnanimity* and *prudence*! How it is in England I do not so well know; but here, I have reason to suppose, that there are many who might adopt—

. . . Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor.

If it were not so, I flatter myself that I should have more friends, and fewer enemies than I have. But it is my fixed resolution, notwithstanding many discouragements, in my little sphere to do all I can for the service of my country—Ne Respublica, aut Ecclesiæ Nov-Anglicanæ *aliquid detrimenti capiant*;—how little soever that may be, which is in my power.

I am, Dear Sir, with the most cordial Esteem, as well as the warmest gratitude,

Your most Obliged Humble Servant
You Know Who[58]

P. S. The Boxes of books, one for the College, the other for myself, sent some time ago, by Josiah Loring, arrived safely. I acknowledged the Favor to me, not long after the receipt, in a letter to you; though it was not come to hand, it seems, when you wrote last. I conclude you have since also received an acknowledgment from the President of the College. Our College has met with a vast loss, since I wrote to you; one of the buildings having been intirely destroyed by Fire, with the philosophical Apparatus and all the Books then in the Library. An handsome New building lately erected, has the honor to bear the name of *Hollis Hall*. I conclude you have received a Letter from a Committee of the College-Over-seers, relative to the Loss aforesaid. Though I have the honor to be a Member of that Board, I happened not to be at either of the Overseers Meetings, when that affair came under consideration. If I had been, I think I should not have been for applying to You just *in the manner* that I understand it has been done. I understand that one of the *propagating Societies*, (not the episcopal) has voted 200£ towards repairing said Loss: I fear it will be long before it is done effectually. God preserve and prosper you. Amen!

Your's etc.
[*Signature canceled*]

Excuse Interlineations etc. from one, who can hardly ever find time to transcribe his letters.

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] Received August 23, 1764, answered August 28. See answer apart.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, June 23, 1764

DEAR SIR, I had the honor to write to You, April 22.

Now, I take the Liberty to send You a small box, free of freight.

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[58] These words are followed, in the original manuscript, by Mayhew's signature, overlaid with an ink cancellation.

It contains 5 little parcels.

One of them I request You, friendlily, to accept.

The other four, to distribute, *excusing the trouble,* as opportunity, which is rare in our part of the World, and not unfrequent and much more safe, in your, shall permit.

If, on inquiry at Boston, it should turn out, that there is no public Library at Bermuda, as I suspect; then, You are requested to present the parcel for that place to that Society or friend whom You best like.

I am working off, hard, all my old bottoms, so to say, of business, to retire, as heretofore written, into the Country; though I fear I shall not be able to end them till the Winter.

Please however always to direct to me in *Pall Mall,* till otherwise directed.

I am Dear Sir,
Your affectionate friend, and most obedient humble servant
T. H.

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*]

The five parcels contained.

For Himself
  A Copy of the new edition of Locke's "Two Treatises of Government."
  A philosophical survey of Nature. 12°. By Noorthouck.
  Some letters cut out of news-papers, written, as I apprehend, by Arch Deacon Blackburne and the Reverend Mr. Lindsey, in relation to his own Controversy; with some remarks of myne in Manuscript on those letters, and the present state of that Controversy here in England.
For Harvard College.
  A copy of Locke's "Two Treatises."
For the College at New Haven, in the Colony of Connecticut.
  Another Copy.
For the College at Princeton, in the Province of New Jersey.
  Another.
For The College at Bermuda.[59]
  Another.

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[59] The college that Dean Berkeley intended to found, but which was not established.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, Lord's Day Evening, June 24, 1764

Dear and Honoured Sir, This day I received your favor of April 4, together with the London *Answer* to the *Observations*, the London Edition of my *Defence*, etc. etc. For all which I return you my sincere and humble thanks. I very particularly thank you for your friendship, in taking care that the said *Defence*, as well as the *Observations*, should be more correctly printed there, than they were here. I am likewise obliged to Mr. Millar, who has conducted so *handsomely* and *obligingly* in this Affair, as you intimate he has done. If you think proper, be pleased, on some occasion, to let him know that I have a due sense of this; and to make my Compliments to him accordingly.

The aforesaid *Answer* to me, was sent me about 6 weeks ago, by Mr. Israel Mauduit. It is reprinted here; and my *Remarks* thereon were published the last Week. I have put a number of Copies of these *Remarks* on board a ship which is to sail to morrow Morning, in a box directed to you, and under the particular care of Mr. William Spooner, son to one of my Parishioners lately deceased, one of the wealthiest Merchants in this Town, but born in the West of England. By this young Gentleman I propose to send these lines. In said box is a Letter for you, in which you have my grateful Acknowledgments for former Favors. I have before had intimations of the A[rch] B[ishop]'s concern in the aforesaid *Answer* to me. But if I had received your last a few days sooner, I much doubt whether I should have paind [paid] him a compliment for his *Christian Moderation*, towards the End of my *Remarks*. I have not how ever, expressed any suspicions of his being concerned in the *Answer*. I am very glad you, Sir, and Mr. Fleming, do not dislike my *first Defence*. How you will approve this *second*, I know not. By what I can hitherto learn, it is more generally liked here, both by Episcopalians and others, than any thing which I have before written on the Subject: And, *between Friends*, I like it better myself; though it is said, a man is not so good a judge of the comparative worth or meanness of *his own productions*, as he is of another person's. Of which, I think, the great Milton himself was a remarkeable proof, if he really gave the preference to *Paradise Regain'd*, rather than to *Paradise Lost*, as has been affirmed. I have sometimes thought, that writers may prefer their last Production, for much the same reason that Parents are often fondest of the last child, *viz.*, only *because it is the last.*

If the A. B. is such a Person as you represent him, (and no man's representation would have more weight with me) I cannot think strange that a Gentleman of your truly patriotic principles, *had determined to drop him wholly,* notwithstanding all his *hierarchical dignity* and *trappings.* I am fully satisfied, you have not been wanting to your native country, in your station; especially when I consider your generous concern for the Welfare of ours, and what you have done for its Service. You intimate a design to remove into the West of England, and to spend the remainder of your days chiefly in *attentions to agriculture.* Wherever you go, Dear Sir, may the smiles of heaven attend you, with all prosperity. I could almost wish for a little Farm in your Neighbourhood, that I might spend my days near you, in the like *attentions.* I am almost sick of this World, in which I find so little sense and integrity, so much folly and villainy. As to the *severe Strictures* that are expected on the *Observations,* I do not at all tremble for fear of them; though I should really be very sorry to have occasion again to launch my little frail bark into the turbulent Ocean of Controversy. I much choose to keep in port. But if any thing should be published against me, which I think at once *merits* and will *admit* of a Reply, I will not desert the cause in which I have been engaged. I thank you for all the hints you have given me; and for the short pieces sent, which have been published in the London Papers. Some of these at least, I intend to have inserted in our public papers. If you will excuse my taking the Freedom, let me request the Favor of you, as soon as may be, to send me the two last Anniversary Sermons before the *Society,* with the *Abstracts* annexed. These Sermons, etc., are not to be obtained by applying to *book-sellers*: If they had been, I should not have presumed to request this Favor, even though I have had such large experience of your generous friendship.

My hair, Sir, is *changing,* as well as yours, I being in my 44th Year; Which I am almost ashamed to own, considering what a *stripling* I am in knowledge and learning. But—*Non omnia possumus Omnes*—I have sincerely edeavoured [*sic*] to do some good with my little stock; and felicitate those who have a larger, and employ it more successfully.

I am, Sir, in haste, and fatigued with preaching all day,

Your most obliged and Obedient Servant,

J. MAYHEW

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, August 28, 1764

DEAR SIR, My last was dated April 22.

On Thursday I received the favor of two letters from you; one without date, the other dated June 24, and two Tracts.

Likewise a letter for the Reverend Mr. Radcliffe; and sundry parcels and tracts which were distributed the next day according to your directions and my best judgment.

I again request You not to put me into any connection *whatsoever* with Mr. Israel Mauduit.[60]

The Political state of affairs in this Island continues exactly the same to my understanding, as it has done for some time past; and men are honest till they are tried, and in the Cases of their neighbours.

The Letters received from You for upwards of a year have been, one, dated April 27, 1763, replied to December 6, 1763; one dated November 21, 1763, replied to April 4, 1764; and the two letters to which I now reply: And these I believe and hope are all that You have written to me.

Be pleased always to direct Your letters to me in Pall Mall, where I live, till informed to the contrary. By so doing, it is probable no letter will miscarry.

I still continue resolved to retire, and am winding off my old bottoms of business, so to say, to that end; though it will be a twelvemonth, I believe, till they are finished.

I go not into the Country for *attentions to agriculture,* as such, nor attentions of interest of any kind, which I have ever despised, as such; but as a USED man, to pass the remainder of my life in tolerable sanity and quiet, after having given up the flower of it, voluntarily, day, week, month, year after year, successive to each other, to public service, and being no longer able to sustain, in body or mind the Labors that I have chosen to go through, without falling speedily into the greatest disorders, and, it might be, imbecility, itself.

I am preparing, and going on with my Mite to Harvard College, and lament the loss it has suffered exceedingly; but hope a public Library will no more be turned into a Council Room.

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[60] I have not been able to discover the reason for Hollis's insistence on having nothing to do with Israel Mauduit.

"Many a man lives a burden to the Earth, but a good book is the precious Life blood of a *Master*-spirit, imbalmed and *treasured up on purpose* to a life beyond life."

No *severe strictures* have been published.

Double sets of the two last Anniversary sermons before the Episcopal Society here, with the Abstracts annexed, are now sent You, pursuant to your Request; with some extracts from public news papers, and a few other things of which your acceptance is desired.

I have read, though in great hurry your "Remarks," and think them truly masterly.

The *Free Use* which You have made of the hints has been the proper one.

You have shewn too much civility toward one person, an error on the right side, who never, in office, assumeth candor but for a purpose, for a mask.[61]

I have ceased to visit that Person wholly.

Millar has just left me. I paid him your compliments. He likewise has read your "Remarks," is pleased with them, and says they shall be printed here against the setting of Parlament. This You may rely on, with the assurance of some copies of the new edition immediately on their publication. He has again behaved handsomely.

The Society seems to me the next to be attacked, if any persons (in a tract of SMALLEST size, pruning HARD upon yourself as is the present publication, and yet harder, to strengthen, brighten, not lessen the matter and spirit of it) turning the fort of it on the *Apthorpian* and most shameful passage in their last *printed* account; praising the Body but lashing the Leaders; with a digression to the Arch-Leader, more or less direct, as You shall judge proper, and suggesting the right or excusableness, that You, an *open* man, and with a name to You, have, to pull off the mask, or endeavour it, of an Adversary who deals hard blows without a name, pretending constantly to candor, good manners, and friendliness.

Cleaveland appears to have deserved reproof.

I have worked hard to write this Letter, and prepare the odd matters I send You, so as to save the ship, laying aside all other matters; and I have proceeded chearfully; as I am very desirous of shewing every mark of attention and respect, Sir, to so excellent a Person as You are, and I profess myself unfeignedly,

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[61] "Candor" in the sense of kindness or charity. The "person" is Archbishop Secker.

Your affectionate friend, and most obedient servant

T. H.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, October 10, 1764

DEAR SIR, My last was dated September 13.[62]

September 19, I sent You by the *Lydia*, Captain Scot, a paper parcel, which contained certain books received from the Reverend William Harris of Honiton in Devonshire, and forwarded at his request.

I now send You by the *Hale* Galley, Captain Harris Hatch, a small box, free of freight, in which are a few books and tracts. Pray accept them benevolently.

You will see by some of them, that *Milton* and *Marvell* not only over matched the Prelates, Priests on the establishment, why not Priests, as Soldiers, *on the establishment*? and the term to be so used by You on any future occasion? by their arguments but by their *wit*.

The A. B. [Archbishop] does know, as well as did the excellent *Collins*, the force of this weapon; and all Ecclesiastics of sense *dread* above measure to be treated out of a *grave* way.

Among the tracts, are five copies of the new edition of your "Remarks," printed, it is hoped, with tolerable exactness. They will be published in form at the Meeting of the Parlament and not before. It was, perhaps, the well-timeing of the publication of the last Tract, though Tradesman Mauduit wished to have had it published, but *abridged*, the beginning of the Summer, that drew the Public Eye upon it, shamed Leviathan, and forced what he called "An Answer."

That "Answer" some pretend, "was the Production of Dr. Burton, Rector of St. Peter's poor Cornhill, Canon of Christ Church, and Treasurer of the Society, though with marks of the A. B. *able* hand throughout it." But I am confident it was written wholly by the A. B.

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[62] This has not been found. Perhaps it contained the "Sketch of a certain *Character*," by Hollis, which, "according to order," Mayhew burned, as he wrote Hollis on December 18, 1764.

himself, and contains, in fact, not so much the Societies as his *own* Defence, as he could make it out.

> "But evil on itself shall back recoil."

The matter within the Crotchets, in the Title of the new edit[ion] of the "Remarks," was added at the Request of A. Millar, who said it would sell the better for it; and the request seemed otherwise not improper.

Should any answer come out to the "Remarks," as is not unlikely to happen in January, *February* or March, it shall be surely sent You.

My Dear Sir, I bid You heartily and respectfully farewell,

T. H.

A Tradesman of character, on whom I can rely, assured me, that not long since a Popish Priest boasted to him, openly, in his shop, that he alone had converted 1500, read 1500 persons, in this Town, to the Catholic faith.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, October 17, 1764

Dear and Much Honoured Sir, I but lately received the Favor of your's of April 22d, with the two Tracts, one by Mr. F[lemin]g, the other in favor of repealing the laws against Papists, and Mr. F[lemin]g's letter to you, relative to both. I am much obliged to you for them. Some gentlemen of good sense here, cannot think that the *Considerations*, etc., which, you say, shall *certainly be answered*, is a *serious* performance by a *Roman catholic*. They consider it as a Satire upon the present Ministry, and the church of England by some *protestant Dissenter*. And I cannot but think, that part of it, which speaks of the similitude between the Churches of Rome and England, gives considerable reason to suspect that this is the Case; though I suppose the design is so disguised, if this be it, that it will generally be received as a serious plea in favor of the *Catholics*.

A *direct Correspondence* with Mr. F[lemin]g, which you speak of, would be very agreeable to me, if it would be so to him. The Episcopalians among us will not believe the A. B. [Archbishop] was the Author of the *Answer* to me; and I have never taken pains to make any one believe he was; being willing that all should think as they please in that respect. I am sorry to hear that our public Affairs are yet got into no better channel: And it is sad indeed, if we have a *Booby* for a ——— [King?].

A few days after I had the honor of yours of April 22, I received that of June 23, with the Box of Books: I am much obliged to you for the New Edition of Locke upon Government and for the *Philosophical Survey*, etc. The Author of the latter appears to be a person of ingenuity: but I do not observe any new discoveries that he has made upon the Subject of *Liberty*; at least none such as his *title page* seems to promise. I am at a loss whom you mean, when you speak of him as an Eleve of n. t's.

I believe there is no public Library in Bermuda; but shall make diligent Inquiry, and punctually follow your Directions respecting the several small Parcels sent in the Box aforesaid. If the *trouble*, which is very inconsiderable, were really great, I should yet take a pleasure in obeying the commands of One, to whom I have been so much and often obliged.

I thank you, Sir, for the several Parts of Newspapers sent me, with your explanatory hints. I have made Inquiry after the St. James's Evening Chronicle, to which you refer; but have not yet been able to find it.

Mr. *Apthorp*, the Cambridge Missionary, is lately and suddenly gone for England: and it is commonly supposed that he will not return to live in this country. I understand that the Church at Cambridge was shut up the Last Lord's day; and that all the Episcopalians there in general, attended the Congregational Worship.

When I opened your two last letters, I was in some hopes I should have intelligence thereby of the Receipt of my *Remarks* on the London Answer to me; having understood that the Ship by which I sent them, arrived at London more than a Fortnight before our last Ships sailed from thence. It is, I suppose, a common weakness, for writers to be impatient to know what reception their Performances meet with; though it would often be most for their *comfort* not to know this at all.

I am, Honoured Sir,

Your most obliged Servant And Affectionate Friend,

J. Mayhew

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, November 6, 1764

Dear Sir, The Parlament having been unexpectedly adjourned till after Christmass, for reasons he knows best who devised that measure; it has been thought proper to publish the new edit[ion] of your "Remarks" forthwith, on the commencement of the Term.

An advertisement having appeared in the Daily Advertiser, about a fortnight ago, noticing, that copies of the "Remarks" of the Boston edition, were to be sold by *Keith*, bookseller, in Gracechurch street, and on inquiry, so soon as it was observed, having found, that that bookseller had received 25 copies of that edition, from some person here in London, 18 of which remained to him; I caused those 18 copies to be immediately bought up and scattered out of the way of the new edition yet usefully, lest they should interfere with it, panic Millar, and deter him for the future, from concerning himself in publications of that sort, which, though undoubtedly important, excellent, have difficulties enough otherwise to struggle with to find a current sale.

By the *Hale* Galley, Captain Harris Hatch, I sent You a small box of books and tracts; with a letter dated October 10. Be pleased again to accept, benevolently, a few more books which are now sent You by the *Devonshire*.

I am, always, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and most obedient servant

T. H.

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*]

T. H. wrote to Dr. Mayhew, November 6, by the *Devonshire*.

The Ship having not yet sailed, he is desirous to avail himself of that circumstance to send the Dr. further by it, the accompanying trifles.

Pall Mall, November 14, 64.

An Examination of Mr. Warburton's account of the antient Legislators, etc., in octavo. By the late Arthur Ashley Sykes D.D.

A singular catalogue of books lately belonging to Mr. John Hutton deceased, in octavo.

Osborne's Catalogue; by his desire.

Another Copy, under his protection for Harvard College.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, December 18, 1764

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR, I some time since acknowledged your favor of June 23, together with which came some small parcels for several public Libraries in America: But I have not yet learnt whether there is any such Library at Bermuda, though I believe there is not. I shall carefully observe your directions relative thereto.

I have now before me your two favors, of August 28, and September 13. Each of these was accompanied with Books, publick prints, and some explanatory notes and hints in your handwriting: For all which I now return you my most sincere and humble thanks. By what you say of the Letters sent to, and received from me, I believe none have miscarried.

You tell me, "No *severe strictures* have been published." This being the case, I am inclined to think that what you heard concerning them, arose from that abusive Libel called a *Candid Examination*, etc., which I sent you together with my Answer thereto. It is not unlikely that there was an intention to reprint the said Pamphlet in London, before my Answer to it appeared; which design was afterwards laid aside.

I am very glad my *Remarks* on the London *Answer* to the *Observations* are not unacceptable to you. If the greatest Error in said *Remarks*, is *too much civility* to the *Answerer*, commonly supposed to be *Leviathan* him*self*; this will easily be overlooked by him and the party: And I hope it will not, upon the whole, hurt the cause in which I am engaged. By what you write, it is probable my last *Remarks* are published in London by this Time; though I have not yet heard that they are. It is likely that something will be printed there in opposition to them. If there should be, I humbly crave the favor of you to send it to me assoon as may be after the publication. I have materials by me, which I think would illustrate and strengthen what I have already written upon the subject. But I believe I shall hardly write again, except I am put upon it by something farther being written on the other Side.

I perceive by the last *Abstract*, etc., that the *Society*, to whose *Judgment and Decision* Mr. Apthorp *humbly submitted* the Merits of this cause, have fully decided it against me; declaring that I have been *sufficiently* *answered both at home and abroad.* I also perceive that the *Critical Review* for July last, gives the Cause against me in favor of the *Answerer*; and shews much dislike both of my *Defence* against the *Candid Examination,* and Mr. F[lemi]ng's *Letter* to the Author of the London *Answer.* All have a right to give their opinion. There are doubtless some very sensible persons among the *Critical Reviewers.* But their character with many here, is that of a set of high-flying, J–b–te [Jacobite], mercenary writers: If it be a just one, I have the less reason to be anxious about their approbation, or disapprobation. I have seen what the *Monthly Reviewers* have said, both of the *Observations,* and of the London *Answer* thereto. But I have not yet met with any *Review* of theirs, which mentions my *Defence* against the *Candid Examination,* or Mr. F[lemi]ng's *Letter.* If they have taken Notice of these Pieces, I should take it as a favor if you would send me the *Review* in which they do it; though I am almost ashamed thus to beg favors of One, who is continually conferring them upon me without my Request. But I know you have candor and goodness enough to excuse my freedom in this respect.

The Sketch of a certain *Character,* with which you much obliged me, is burnt according to order, and no Copy taken of it.

If I should write again in this controversy, I shall pay a particular Attention to your hints as to the manner of doing it, and be as concise as possibly I can, consistently with the Ends of my writing. I shall strictly observe what you say with reference to not putting you into *any kind* of connection with a certain person; One whom I have myself some grounds to suspect as a *double-minded* man—in a strait between *honesty* and the *wicked policy* of the times.

I lately received the Books, so kindly sent me by Mr. Harris, together with his Billet to you, in which he mentions me with much Affection, and at the bottom of which is a line or two from you, dated September 17. I am much obliged to Mr. Harris, to whom I intend to write; and also humbly thank you for your care and kindness in forwarding said Books to me.

Mr. Hutchinson, our Lieutenant Governor has lately published here an *History of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.* In my Opinion it is judicious and impartial. I beg your Acceptance of the Copy of it, which I send herewith; as also that you would be so good as to take Care of that sent to Mr. Harris.

I pray God to give you health and all prosperity; and am, Honoured Sir,

Your very much Obliged and most humble Servant
J. MAYHEW

P. S. My chief objection against Mr. Huchinson's History, is, that he seems in some places to favor the interposition and power of the civil Magistrate in *merely ecclesiastical* Affairs, more than I can see reason for; though it must be allowed, that in many other places he appears very full in the principles of liberty, civil and religious. I believe neither he, nor any other person could fairly reconcile these passages.

I am sorry to say it, that you will find the Fathers of this country were really *Persecutors*. Pudet hæc opprobria nobis, etc.

2nd P. S. February 9, 1765

HONOURED SIR, I have had no Opportunity of Conveyance since the former Date, December 18. But I have since had an additional obligation laid upon me, by your letter of October 10, which was accompanied with a very valuable Present of Books, by Captain Hatch; as also with some public Prints, with private Hints and Remarks relating to them. Several of these Books I never saw before; particularly the incomparable A. Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpos'd*; the reading of which has given me a very high Entertainment. There are also divers Tracts in this New Edit[ion] of Milton's Prose works, which I had never had an opportunity to read. Indeed, Sir, I cannot express my thanks for these accumulated favors, in terms answerable to the grateful sense which I have of them.

The Progress of Popery in England is extremely alarming. But I am glad to hear that *Leviathan* is supposed unwilling to go the Lengths, which the *Favourite* is supposed to intend.[63] I am chosen by the Trustees of a Legacy of the late Judge Dudley of this Province, to preach a Discourse against Popery in the Chapel of Harvard College next May. But it is but a small part of that Mystery of Iniquity, that can be laid open and exposed in a Discourse of one Hour. Dr. Wigglesworth, the learned and very worthy *Hollisian* Professor of Divinity in said College, lately died in an advanced Age. His funeral Sermon, by the Reverend Mr. Appleton of Cambridge, is to be printed; and if it is out of the Press soon enough, I shall send it to You by this Conveyance. He was the first Divinity-Professor in said College; and I wish he may have a Successor worthy of him, and the *Name* by which the Professorship is called.

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[63] The *Leviathan* and *Favourite* are probably Archbishop Secker and Lord Bute. The sentence apparently refers to something said by Hollis in his letter of September 13, 1764, which has not been found.

I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the kind Care which you took, in order to have my last *Remarks* correctly printed, several Copies of which came to me in the last Box sent me. In this Box also came that Number of the *Monthly Review*, which I made so free as to request of you in the former part of this Letter; so that your kindness has superseeded [*sic*] already any Occasion for complying with that Request. I have never seen the A. B. of C.'s [Archbishop of Canterbury's] Sermon before the *Society*, printed, I think, 1740, (excepting the few Extracts of it in Mr. Apthorp's *Considerations.*) If you could conveniently send it to me, I should acknowlege it as a favor. In conformity to the intention which you express, I shall expect from you the Answer or Reply to my last *Remarks*, if any should be published. Whether *Leviathan* or Dr. Burton, or both, were concerned, or shall be hereafter, in this dispute, I think no man can defend the *Society* effectually; nor am I solicitous about the Matter.

I am, Dear and Honoured Sir,
Your Most Obliged Humble Servant
J. MAYHEW

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, March 4, 1765

DEAR SIR, November 6 and November 14, 1764, I wrote a note and Letter to You by the *Devonshire*, Captain Hunter.

Since then I have received Your favor of October 17.

The *Considerations*, was certainly a serious and though impudent yet not unartful Performance of a Roman Catholic. It ought to have been answered by the Clergy *on the Establishment*; but has not, the Dignitaries, from Laziness and Commendam, wishing to keep all matters in their Department, those relating to Popery especially, as still, unnoticed, untalked of as possible: And for me my time hath been too fully engaged to hunt out, and hearten-on a proper Person to that Service.

All agree, that the Answer, so called, to Your tract was written by the A. B. [Archbishop]; but I am of an opinion, that You will never get another, a direct one, from him or any other Church Leader, now that You have touched on Popery; no ass in sand cart, skin-cut and goaded, being more tender than the A. B., and his Bretheren when touched on that Subject.

The Return of Mr. Apthorp, that Spye upon your Land, must have been a thorough mortification to the A. B., who begat and sent him out such; and the Fathers of New England should crown with oak Leaves the Man, who, by his sole judgment and energy hath *forced* it. I am assured, that at the motion of the A. B. it is entered in the Books of the Episcopal Propagators, *that no more Missionaries shall be sent to New England*; which information will turn out to be in fact, I suppose, that no more Missions shall be established there.

What the A. B. hath done, or rather undone, is inconsiderable, and to save appearances only. But if he is *truely* honest, He will take away the greater number of the Missions throughout that Country.

Two Copies of the Sermon preached before the Episcopal Society this Season, shall be sent You, when published, in April.

I do not hear, that You are likely to see answer of any kind to Your last master-tract, unless a Stigma, or so, in the lurking minutes of the Society; nor can it be expected on the plan shewn forth in this Letter.

Public affairs are yet, and likely to continue in the same channel till the next war, as in my last; when the Scottishman and his Mungrels must go off, like smoke before the wind!

God send the Debt, Bankruptcy he hath *fixed* on the Nation could as easily be parted with.

The three Kingdoms are uneasy; and, as it should seem, to be made more uneasy; with the Colonists, those faithful friends to Liberty, and the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, *therefore*: and such is the Booby, to a scruple, he will undo.—

I had almost forgotten to request your obliging acceptance of a few books and tracts; and to desire You to present the two Books directed to Mr. Otis, to that Gentleman, on the part of an *anonimous* Englishman.

Read, what a friend wrote me lately, on sending him a Copy of Mr. Otis's tract.

"*The Rights of the British colonies asserted and proved* is a noble piece and has been read by many of my friends with great edification. All the great and generous Principles of government, that is of public good, which ever warmed Milton, Locke, or any patriot head, are familiar to the author, and applied to his own particular argument in a way they had not thought of, but would have honored and approved. If it had fallen in his way, I could have wished he had touched upon the Episcopizing scheme, in his bold and convincing way; and the more, as it is reported to Us, that the Advocates for it, are more warm and sanguine than ever, and have had the art to engage some of our Statesmen to be as deeply for it as themselves, as an event necessarily connected with that System of Politics which they have adopted, and which is alone within the compass of their abilities and their Virtues."

I am, unfeignedly, Dear Sir,

Your affect[ionate] friend and most obedient servant
THOMAS HOLLIS

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*] The Letter and things were sent by the *Lydia* Captain Scot.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, March 27, 1765

DEAR SIR, Finding that the *Lydia* is not yet sailed, I take the opportunity of transmitting two books to You, with divers extracts from public news-papers, which I think You will be glad to see, and some scriblings of myne upon them. The last, when You have read and considered them, You will be pleased to destroy.

I am with unfeigned truth and respect, Dear Sir,

Your affect[ionate] friend and most obedient servant
T. H.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, April 22, 1765

DEAR SIR, March 4, I had the pleasure of writing to You, and again March 27.

Among the trifles which I now take the Liberty to send You, are five copies of a "Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks etc. By East Apthorp," that is, according to those I converse with, the Arch Bishop, just published.

This *Review*, so called, was, I confess, to me unexpected; but is in truth a poor performance.

It is pleasant to observe, how Patron and Client incense, *whitewash* to each other. But Apthorp tops his Patron in so much, as he has not sculked, anonimously to his abuse against an open *known* Adversary; but has fairly put his name to it: a circumstance, it maybe, for You to advert upon.

Having scribbled myself down in the notes I conclude, etc., etc., etc.

[THOMAS HOLLIS]

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*] The Trifles sent were by the *Pitt* Packett, Captain Dixey.

May 6, Sent him several Extracts from News-papers relating to the Popish Controversy, and to Politics, with various notes of mine upon them.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, May 13, 1765

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR, I have received repeated favors from you, both in Letters and Books, since you heard from me. This has not been owing either to forgetfulness or ingratitude in me, but want of opportunity. I have for some months had Letters ready to send to you: but no ship has sailed directly from hence to London. Those Letters I propose to send in a Box by this conveyance, to gether with Mr. Hutchinson's *History*, of which mention is made therein; as also a discourse which I delivered the 8th instant before the members of Harvard College and others, on Popery, if it is out of the Press before the sailing of the Ship, as I suppose it will be, some progress being already made in the printing.[64] Whether that discourse will discover any thing more than my great detestation of popery, I know not; though I must own I took some pains in writing it.

Since the sealing of my Letters, to which I just now referred, I received your last favor, of November 6, per the *Devonshire*, to gether with a box of valuable Books; for both which I now make you my grateful acknowledgments. I know not who sent those Copies of my *Remarks,* to Keith, which you mention; but think myself obliged to you for your care and expence, to prevent their interfering with Millar's Edition. London so abounds with pamplets of all sorts, that I cannot wonder if many of them, especially those reprinted from the Colonies, should not readily sell, in any considerable Number. Since my others Letters I have seen the *Monthly Review,* which mentions my *Remarks* with some respect; and speaks of this as an *expiring controversy*: But I have not yet seen any *Critical Review* that mentions them; from the authors of which I expect neither quarter nor civility. If any thing should be published relative to those *Remarks,* in farther vindication of the Society, I shall expect to see it soon; though at present I do not hear of any thing of that sort proposed. I propose to send one Copy of my Discourse on Popery to Dr. Lardner, one to Dr. Franklin, and another to Mr. Harris, to gether with Mr. Hutchinson's Book; of which I humbly request you to take Care. I shall send a few other Copies to be disposed of by you in such way as you may judge most convenient: And Am, Honoured and Dear Sir, very gratefully and respectfully,

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[64] *Popish Idolatry: A Discourse* . . . [at the Dudleian Lecture] (Boston, 1765).

Your's etc.,

J. MAYHEW

P. S. SIR, Mr. Wigglesworth, now one of the Tutors of our College, and son of the late worthy Professor, sends you, through my hands, a Copy or two of Mr. Appleton's funeral Sermon on his Father. He also sends a Copy or two to Doctor Lardner, in my box; of which you are humbly requested to take Care. Mr. Wigglesworth is a young gentleman of good abilities and character; and seems to stand fair to succeed his Father as Hollis professor of Divinty [*sic*] in the College.

Since writing the above, Mr. President Holyoke has sent me a pacquet for you; and Mr. Wigglesworth, one for Dr. Chandler, and another for Dr. Wilson, Prebendary, etc., which I propose to put in my box.

Your's etc. ut sup.

J. M.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, May 17, 1765

DEAR AND HONORED SIR, Yesterday I sent on board the *Devonshire,* Captain Hunter, several Letters for you, in acknowledgment of your repeated favors; to gether with a small Box, containing Mr. Hutchinson's *History,* and some Copies of a Discourse lately published by me against Popery. I have since observed several typographical Errors in it; though I hope there are none but what an intelligent and candid reader will easily correct and pardon.

About an hour since I received, per Captain Scott, your favor of March 4, 1765, in a Box containing sundry valuable Books, etc., etc. I have had Time only to glance over them, without reading any thing besides your letter, a few parts of Newspapers, and your explanatory Hints. Captain Hunter being now on the point of sailing, I was unwilling he should depart with out a line or two from me in acknowledgement of this last Instance of your disinterested and generous friendship. I am much your Debtor, honored Sir; And am also obliged to Mr. Harris for his last favor, as well as for what I formerly received from him through your Hands. There is a Letter, etc., for him, in the Box directed to you.

You have divers times hinted at the A. B.'s spy upon us. I never knew, till your last, whom you meant; nor did I ever hear before, that he was suspected to come hither in that *honourable* Capacity. When I delivered the Discourse before referred to, in our College Chapel, against Popery, I could scarce refrain from some strictures on *another church,* so zealously propagated among us of late years—But on the whole, thought it more adviseable to refrain.

I shall this very day take Care that Mr. Otis has his Books: And am, though in great Haste, with the warmest gratitude and Esteem, honored Sir,

Your most Obliged and Obedient Servant

J. MAYHEW

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, June 24, 1765

DEAR SIR, Your favors of December 18, 1764, February 9, 1765, May 13, May 17, came safely to hand, with a little box, by the *Devonshire*; and eased me of many fears.

I do not take in either of the Reviews regularly, and seldom see them. The Monthly Reviewers have able worthy People among them; and for Traders in the way of Literature afford as much as possible to Liberty. The Critical Reviewers are almost if not all Scottishmen, without Ignorance or knowledge; and by interest and inclination are not Whigs, perhaps . . . . [Jacobites.]

All that I have written relating to Your Controversy hath been *only* as hints or materials to You for *Consideration.*

If I am not much mistaken, a certain person is a Coxcomb and a Scrub.

I return you hearty thanks for a master-sermon against Popery; and for *The History of the Colony of Massachuset's Bay.*

If we are rightly informed here, that Papists are admitted in the civil, perhaps I should write *military* Government of C. . . . . (under the command of a military . . . .)[65] to bear civil offices, as Justice of the Peace, etc., and Popish Priests to act as Surveyors of the Country, etc.; You too, Men of New England, have need to look sharp at these back-friends.

The *History* I have read, *generally.* It is not severe against the Founders, Leaders, People of that Colony; shades great facts; yet is favorable to Liberty; is curious, valuable, and, to have been written by a man in office in the year 1765, is an extraordinary performance.

In respect to the Power of the civil Magistrate in *religious* matters, be pleased to consult the note taken from the *Oceana* of the ingenuous James Harrington, incerted in the notes belonging to the "Letters of Algernon Sydney, taken from the Sydney Papers" page 67, with which note I entirely but humbly agree.

The Fathers of New England were *Persecutors* with the Stigmata of persecution fresh bleeding upon themselves.

Concerning the intended edition of A. Marvell's works.

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[65] Presumably "C . . . . ." stands for "Canada," and the eight spaced periods for "governor."

I have returned my thanks by letter to the Reverend Mr. Wigglesworth for the Publications sent me on the death of his late learned, excellent Father. Perhaps that worthy Gentleman and Mr. Winthrop may wish that I should correspond with them. Circumstanced, overplyed as I am, one Correspondent in a Country is almost too much for me. If instead of Sermons, Orations *only* were to be made, on the death of Persons *really* eminent! Characters to Sermons have always appeared to me very awkward tacks.

I beg You to request the Gentlemen of the College, that my name may be entered in their Book, as *Thomas Hollis of Lincolns Inne*, *Thomas Hollis of London* being too general for an Identification; especially as there is one other *Thomas Hollis*, if not more than one, in this Kingdom.

All the Parcels which were in the Box, by the *Devonshire* have been distributed.

And the five copys of the Sermon against Popish Idolatry scattered as followeth.

To the British Musaeum, anonimously, to gall Leviathan, President there, by office.
To Tennison's Library, to gall him there too.
To Williams' Library.
To the Reverend Caleb Fleming.
To the Reverend Theophilus Lindsey.

Be pleased to accept these Publications.

And with them a *great* rarity, the B. [Bishop] of Oxford, Dr. Thomas Seckar [*sic*], now A. B. C. [Archbishop of Canterbury] his sermon, preached February 20, 1740/1, before the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts.[66]

It was the coloring bye-view of this Sermon, that first occasioned a fixt dislike in me to Dr. Seckar. He thought to figure by it, easily, in commendam, without danger of any kind. Having been corrected for it by Mr. Hubbard, he became disgusted with the Colonists.[67] Then he hated them. Then fixed a Spye regularly upon them; for such I always deemed Apthorp. Then began a further scheme concerning American Bishops; in which, instead of hard unsplendid work at home, the watching, *da vero*, against the evil morals, conduct of his own vast

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[66] This rare and important sermon has been republished in Frank J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia, 1940), 213–233.

[67] Probably Thomas Hubbard, Speaker of the House of Representatives and treasurer of Harvard College.

Flock, and the alarming growth of Popery, etc., he thought to win *easy* glory from a distance, and, himself a *Changling*, to outshine or equal the greatest of his Predecessors.[68]

"But evil on itself shall back recoyl,"

And so I leave him to honest, able Dr. Mayhew.

My last was dated May 21.

I am, Dear Sir, etc.

[THOMAS HOLLIS]

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*]

The general contents of the British Musaeum. 8°.

The *Monthly Review* for May; in which A. D. [Archdeacon Francis] Blackburne's tract relating to an intermediate State is noticed.

La Philosophie de L'Histoire. Par feu L'Abbé Bazin, (Monsieur Voltaire) in octavo.

Dictionaire Philosophique portatif, (Par Monsieur Voltaire) in octavo.

Sur la Destruction des Jesuites en France. (Par Monsieur D'Alembert) in 12°.

Sent by the *Thomas and Samuel*, Captain Deverson.

July 3. Sent him some prints, (The Faun, Death of Eudamidas, etc.) the *Monthly Review* for June, Mr. Fleming's *Antidote*, with a few prints for Harvard College, by the *John and William* Gally, Captain Thomas Hulme.

Also, July 6, A Small paper parcel, received from the Reverend William Harris of Honiton in Devonshire, by the same Ship.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, August 8, 1755 [*1765*]

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR, I had the honor to write to you about the middle of May last. By the same Ship I sent a letter written several Months before, which had waited for an opportunity. I also sent a small Box containing Mr. Hutchinson's *History*, etc. I hope you have received them before this time.

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[68] Archbishop Secker was brought up a Dissenter, and was educated for medicine rather than the ministry.

I have since received your favors of March 4, March 27, and April 22, with some valuable Books, News-papers with explanatory Hints, etc. All which were exceeding aceptable to me: and for them I accordingly return you my very humble and hearty thanks. The Books for Mr. Otis were delivered according to order; and he is much obliged to the unknown Donor. I have read Mrs. Mackaley's [Macaulay's] second Volume with great pleasure. It appears to me to be a very just and excellent History of those wretched times; written with a Spirit of Liberty, which might shame many great Men (so called) in these days of degeneracy, and ty-r-nn-y, and oppression.

The Colonies are universally and greatly alarmed at the Measures lately taken respecting them. These Measures appear to me extremely hard and injurious. If long persisted in, they will at best greatly cramp, and retard the population of, the Colonies, to the very essential detriment of the Mother country. And what may, in time, be the consequence of raising a general and great disaffection in the people of this large Continent, no one can certainly foresee. But you and I, Sir, are at least clear in this point, that no people are under a *religious obligation* to be slaves, if they are able to set themselves at liberty.

I doubt not but Mr. Apthorp had the Assistance of the *Answerer* in his *Review* of my *Remarks*. But after all, to use your expression, "it is in truth a poor performance"; so poor, that my Friends here agree in advising me to let it pass without any kind of public notice. This I think I shall do; and the rather, because I intimated at the end of what I last published, that I should not write again, unless something *both new and material* should be offered on the other side. To write against this *Review*, though in the most cursory manner, would be an implicit acknowledgment of more merit therein than it can justly claim.

You speak of Mr. Fleming's having well exposed this Pice in *a Letter*, which you say *you have sent me*. But, by some mistake, the Letter which you speak of, and which I should be glad to see, was not sent; though you, some time before this *Review* was published, sent me that Gentleman's Letter to the Author of the *Answer to the Observations*.

Dr. Lowth[69] appears to be a very able man; though I think it fully appears by his Life of *Wykeham*, that even his learned head has not yet got the *great goddess Diana* quite out of it. I am both surprised and grieved at the Anecdotes relating to b[isho]p Butler, who was certainly a man of very superior Abilities; And, as I had before supposed, as little of a *Formalist* as any man in his Station could well be. But it seems, I was much mistaken. A. D. B.'s [Archdeacon Blackburne's] Letter to him is an excellent performance.

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[69] Robert Lowth, a distinguished minister of the Church of England in England, later Bishop of London.

I am something at a loss for your Meaning, Sir, in what you say respecting your Library. I pray God long to give you health to make use of it, at once for your own entertainment, and the public good.

I am, Honoured and Dear Sir,
Your very often and greatly Obliged Humble Servant
J. M.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston Monday, August 19, 1765

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR, I had the honor to write to you about the middle of May last, and again about the beginning of this instant, in acknowledgment of your late repeated favors. In my last I hinted to you how generally and greatly alarmed the Colonists were at some late parliamentary proceedings, particularly at the Stamp-Act. They almost one and all consider this, and the power lately given to the Admiralty-courts, whereby the right of being tried by Juries is in a great Measure taken from them, as instances of grievous oppression, and scarce better than right down tyranny. When I last wrote, I did not think the spirit of opposition to the Stamp-Act would break out so soon, in any open Acts of Violence, as it has done.

On the Morning of Wednesday last, And[rew] Ol[i]v[e]r, Esq., the Secretary of the Province, and a Member of his Majesty's Council, who was lately appointed the Officer for distributing the stamps here, was found hung in effigie, in a public place in this town, with a paper on one Arm, with the Capitals A. O. and on the other, one with two lines to this effect—

"A goodlier sight who e're did see?
A Stamp-Man hanging on a tree!"

By his Side hung a *Boot,* out of which the De[vi]l made his appearance with his fork. The Boot was old, and had a new *green* sole, or, as I understand it is to be mentioned in the Prints of this day, a *Green-vile* sole. A punning device, which I suppose the Chanc[e]ll[o]r of the Ex-

[cheque]r, will easily understand.[70] Another Paper was pinned to the Effigies, declaring that whoever should take it down before Night, was an enemy to his Country. Some thousands of people went that day to see it; and it seemed to give general satisfaction to the people. At dusk of the evening it was cut down, and carried through the Streets in Solemn form, by great Numbers (unarmed) and had its head sawed off before Mr. Ol[i]ver's Door, and was then burnt at a little distance, amidst loud acclamations. A new Building which Mr. O[liver] had just erected, for a Stamp-Office, but unfinished, was intirely demolished, and part of the timber, etc., burnt with the Effigies. That gentleman's Mansion House was also assaulted and damaged the same Evening; And the next day he gave it under his hand, that he would not serve as Stamp-Officer; which, it is supposed, was the only thing that prevented his House being torn down the next Night. Our L[ieu]t[enan]t Gov[erno]r, Mr. H[u]tch[in]s[o]n, is supposed by many, whether justly or not, to have been a favorer of the Stamp-Act, for the sake of recommending himself to his Superiors in England. The people therefore, who did the Violences aforesaid, went to his House the following evening, with a view to speak with him on that subject; but on their approach, he escaped from his House without being seen by them; and they departed without doing any Mischief.

From this you may judge of the sentiments of this Town, concerning the Stamp-Act. By what I have heard, it is as much disliked by the people in general throughout these Colonies. And so great is the detestation in which it is had, that I am satisfied it will never be carried into execution, unless it is done at the point of the Sword, by a large army, or rather by a number of considerable ones, at least one in each Colony; there being about sixty thousand fighting men in this Province only: And it is given out by many, that they will spend their last blood in this cause. You will observe, Sir, I only mention facts, without giving my own opinion. I will, how ever, presume to say this much, That I greatly doubt the expediency of Great-Britain's waging war with her American Colonies, as it were, only for the sake of carrying this odious Act into execution; and thereby hazarding either their destruction, or their intire loss to, and revolt from her. The people in the

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[70] Bute ("Boot"), though out of office since 1763, was thought to have retained his influence over the King and ministry. George Grenville was Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as First Lord of the Treasury when the colonial Stamp Act of 1765 was passed.

Colonies, are far, very far indeed, from desiring to be independent upon Great-Britain; and nothing, I believe, could make them even willing for it, but what they esteem hard cruel and oppressive Treatment. God forbid there should be an intire Breach between them, which might prove very fatal to both!

The first Letter in Volume 4th of *Cato's Letters*, contains many things much to the present purpose; and which look almost like *prophecy*.[71] I wish with all my heart, that a considerable part of that excellent Letter were soon reprinted in several of the London Papers; which might perhaps be one mean of preventing the pushing of things to a dreadful extremity, with relation to the Colonies.

It is lately reported here, that Mr. Pitt is now one of the Secretaries of State, to gether with Mr. Ch[ar]les T[ow]n[shen]d, but I doubt the truth of it.[72] I should have mentioned before, that a proclamation was quickly issued by our Governor for apprehending the Rioters, etc. But if any of them should be discovered and committed, I am confident the prison would not hold them many hours. In this town, and within 20 miles of it, there are, I suppose, 10,000 men, who, if need was, could and would soon be collected to gether, on such an Occasion.

I intend to inclose the Prints of this Day; And am, Honoured Sir, not without some anxious thoughts restecting [*sic*] the Mother-Country and Colonies,

Your most Obliged and Obedient Servant

J. M.

Mr. Wigglesworth, Son of the late worthy Doctor, is appointed to succeed him as Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College.

[*On another sheet, in the handwriting of Thomas Hollis:*] A Postscript to Dr. Mayhew's Letter of August 19, "A very small box, with two or three Pamphlets and news papers, is sent to Mr. Hollis by this Conveyance."

MEM. I had the honor to pay two Guineas to the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle, that the first Letter of Volume 4, of Cato's Letters, noticed by Dr. Mayhew, might be inserted in the S. J. C.

T. H.

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[71] John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Collection of Cato's Political Letters in the London Journal.* The reference is to the letter of April 1, 1721. "Cato" was a pseudonym for Trenchard and Gordon.

[72] The report was not true.

MEMORANDUM OF THOMAS HOLLIS ON A NOTE TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Thomas Hollis presents his best compliments to Dr. Mayhew; sends him a few odd things by Captain Bruce, chiefly for the *Extracts*; and requests his protection to the Book for Harvard College.

The last things sent were July 3 and 6, by the *John and William* Gally, Captain Hulme.

Pall Mall, September 19, 1765

To Dr. Mayhew.

- Six books of Premiums of the Society instituted for promoting arts and commerce.
- A comparative view of the State and Faculties of man, with those of the animal world. 12°. in morocco.
- Divers Extracts cut out of News papers.

To Harvard College.

- *Fortuita Sacra*, etc. By Sir Richard Ellys Bar.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Dear Sir, I open a small parcel for You, with a note in it, that I was about to dispatch, to acknowledge the receit of your favor of August 8.

I shall not wonder, if You should not answer Apthorp's, i.e. the Archbishop's *Review*.

The manuscript Letter of worthy Mr. Fleming *was*, I apprehend, sent You, and I hope You will still find it.

Dr. Lowth is a learned excellent Gentleman, but a Son of the Church, a Son of Articles and Tythes.

At my Time of Life and with my Turn, all books that enter my Library as presents or by purchase, those which are of direct use to me in my pursuits excepted, travel afterward, are scattered, given away.

In about six Weeks I shall go into Dorsetshire for two or three months.

Politics.

[Thomas Hollis]

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] Copy of my Letter to Dr. Mayhew at Boston in New England; dated Pall Mall, September 19, 1765.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, September 26, 1765

Dear and Honoured Sir, Your favors of March 4th and April 22, I acknowledged by a Ship that sailed for London about a Month ago. Your favor of June 24th is now before me, by which I understand that you had received several letters from me, from December 18 to May 27, inclusive. I heartily thank you, good Sir, for the Books, etc., which accompanied your last, among which was A[rch] B[ishop of] C[anterbury]'s Sermon before the Society, which I wanted much to see. If that person's heart were as good as his head, I think he would be one of the best R[igh]t R[e]v[ere]nds that has appeared for some time: though it appears to me, that he was considerably indebted to Bishop Butler's sermon on the same Occasion, for some of the most valuable parts of his. It seems highly probable to me, that Mr. Ap[thorp] had a less hand in this *Review* of my *Remarks*, than his crafty and politic patron before referred to. But I see nothing in it that is new and material; And it is the opinion of all my friends here, that it would be a mis-spence of time and paper, to take any public notice of it. And besides, I have little inclination to continue a controversy of this kind, in the present circumstances of my country, and at such an alarming Crisis in all these colonies. You can hardly conceive how the minds of people in the colonies are inflamed by the late Parliamentary regulations, particularly the Stamp-Act. The violent Measures which have been taken already in most of them, to make the Stamp-Officers resign their posts, and many other things, confirm me in the opinion which I intimated to you in the last, That this Act will never be carried into execution, without the effusion of much blood: For it is the general voice of the people, that they had rather die by the sword, than submit to such slavery as they conceive they shall be under, by submitting to such a kind of taxation. May God, of his infinite Mercy, direct both the Mother country and Colonies what to do, at such a melancholy conjuncture! In our public prints which I send you by this conveyance, you will see how much these matters employ the attention of people at this time.

I shall also send you our wretched G[overno]r's speech, made the day before yesterday;[73] to answer which a committee is appointed. He seems to desire, that the General Assembly should *assist* in putting these heavy chains on themselves and the people; in which, I may presume to say., he will be disappointed.

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[73] Governor Bernard's speech to the Council and House of Representatives, September 25,

Many people among us are sanguine in the expectation of a speedy repeal of the Stamp-Act, from the change of the Ministry, which has occasioned great Joy among us. For my own part, I have little hopes of such a repeal, till it is plainly seen by the parliament, that the Act will, in its operation, be pernicious to Great Britain, by ruining the Colonies.

If *Astræa* were not fled, there might be ground of hope from another quarter.[74]

I am glad my Sermon on Popery was not wholly unacceptable to you; and thank you for disposing of the several copies of it in the manner you have done.

I have lately received by the *John* Galley, Captain Hulme, two paper parcels; one, your own obliging present to me, the other a present from worthy Mr. Harris, through your hands. Accept my thanks, Sir, for your favor in both respects. The small Book for the college (on Christianity) I sent immediately to the College Treasurer. I have also particularly acquainted the gentlemen of the college, in what manner you chuse, on all occasions, to be mentioned in the Books or Records of that Society: And you may be assured, the direction will be carefully observed.

By the Superscription on one of the last mentioned parcels, I understood there were some *prints* sent for the College, and some for myself, by Captain Hulme. They have not yet come to hand. But, unless I misunderstood the Matter, I shall probably get them before Long; Though the Ship is hitherto detained at the castle, three Miles below this town, by order of the G[overno]r, lest the stamped papers and parchments, which are on board, should be seized and burnt by the enraged populace, or immediately sent back to London in another bottom; both which have been talked of by some persons. But, for my own part, I hope no such step as this will be taken.

1765: [Alden Bradford], *Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts* . . . (Boston, 1818), 39–43.

[74] Presumably William Pitt, who had not taken office in the new Rockingham Ministry. "Astrea, 'the Starry Maid,' the constellation Virgo, identified with Dikē (Justice). . . . In the Golden Age she lived among men, but in the later ages, owing to the wickedness of men, she withdrew to the sky." See Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, under "Astrea."

The person, who does me the favor to be the bearer of this to you, is Mr. Henry Bromfield, for some time past a considerable Merchant in this town, a gentleman of my Acquaintance, in good Credit as a Merchant, of unblemished reputation in other respects, and who has filled some credi[ta]ble town offices to general satisfaction. He has lately sustained a loss of about 4,000£ Sterling; chiefly, as I understand, by the Knavery of a Frenchman in the West Indies. He proposes to go to France in pursuit of him, where, it is said, he at present resides. I know not whether you have any Correspondents in France; if you have, a line from you might be of service to him. Which, however, I mention wholly of my own Accord, as being desirous to assist every injured person, particularly an injured friend, in all ways in my power; knowing that you have candor and goodness enough to pardon my officiousness in this respect.

I am, dear and honoured Sir, with unfeigned gratitude and respect,
Your most Obliged Humble Servant
ANONYMOUS

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, October 1, 1765

This is the day appointed for opening the proposed Congress at New York, by Commissioners from the several Colonies, in order to jointly petitioning the King and Parliament for relief of grievances, particularly with relation to the Stamp Act. There is a Rumor in this Town, that General Gage, Commander in Chief of the King's forces in America, who is at New York with a Body of troops, has seized upon the fire arm[s] in that City, betaken himself to the Castle th[ere] with 3 Months provisions, and give[n ou]t, tha[t] the Commissioners shall not meet to consult and petition as aforesaid. This, if true, is an extraordinary step indeed! But I have but just heard the report, know not how it came, and question the truth of it.[75]

For my own part, I have both privately and publicly delivered my opinion of the inexpediency and great danger of any *forcible*, *riotous* and *illegal* proceedings, in opposition to parliamentary authority, even though the Colonies should be oppressed. *We are not able to contend in this way with Great Britain.* But far the greater part of the People in the

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[75] No part of the statement was true.

Colonies seem at present resolved to *run all hazzards* rather than submit: For they say nothing worse can happen to us than such slavery.

I am, etc.

[JONATHAN MAYHEW]

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] The Reverend Dr. Mayhew Boston, October 1, 1765, received November 15, by Mr. Bromfield, answered November 18. See answer apart.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, November 18, 1765

DEAR SIR, My last was dated September 19.

Since then I have received three favors of yours, dated August 19, September 26, and October 1, the two last by Mr. Bromfield, to whom I have rendered the little service I was able, by giving him a Letter to a friend of mine at Paris, a Man of Wisdom and Benevolence.

Two friends of Yours have written to me, "We are very sorry Dr. M. does not reply, we repeat it very sorry, as there are so many plausible things, and, if not new, yet in an intirely new dress, advanced in the *Review* of his *Remarks*." My opinion still humbly is, that though the *Review* may be a cunning yet it is a *slight* performance, and need not therefore be replied to by You on many accounts.

I have been extremely concerned, afflicted at the present sad, melancholy state of affairs betwixt England and her Colonies.

The *Reverse* of a Dutch medal, struck in their early troubles, "Two earthen vases, floating upon the waters, *Inscription, Frangimur si collidimur*," suits, exactly, to their case.

God grant wisdom and temper on both sides! And, as it is said, that the present administration seeks only the *mildest* measures, it may be hoped, things will calm and subside again.

All my *little* Energies have been and shall be *exerted* on this occasion; for how can they be more nobly engaged, than in good offices betwixt the Mother Country and her Colonies?

A few friends think, act like me; but with *superior* abilities.

The news papers are truely curious. They may have their use too.

The sermon is likewise curious. I beg my compliments, respectfully, with thanks, to the Author of it (The Reverend Andrew Eliot).[76]

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[76] Eliot, pastor of New North Church, Boston, preached the annual Election Sermon in 1765.

Some time ago I received a manly Letter from that Gentleman, as Secretary of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, written on occasion of some books which I had the honor to present to that College.

The *Good-will* of several such Letters I have likewise received from the President, the Reverend Mr. Holyoke.

Two books I now send You from the excellent Mr. Harris. The University of Glasgow has conferred the Degree of Doctor in Divinity upon him.

A third book is put under your protection for the College.

The Wisdom, Splendor of the Pittonian Administration; the Influence, Divisions that succeeded it; the Calamities that now threaten Us; all concur to render it probable, that Mr. Pitt will again, in a short time come into Government, and with such *latitude* of Power as every honest man wishes, an Assertor of Liberty, and a friend to the House of Hanover.

Reverend and Dear Sir, I honor Your many Virtues, and am

Your affectionate assured friend, and most obedient servant,

T. H.

The Letter and parcel were sent by the *Hale* Galley, Captain Harris Hatch.

MEMORANDUM OF THOMAS HOLLIS ON A NOTE TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Thomas Hollis wrote to the excellent Dr. Mayhew, his much esteemed friend, November 18, 1765, by the *Hale* Galley, Captain Harris Hatch.

He now sends the Dr. a paper Parcel, forwarded, in a case of books for Harvard College, by the *Amhurst,* Captain Thomas Dixey, which contains a few Pamphlets, with some extracts of News Papers relating to North American affairs.

Pall Mall, December 21, 1765

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, January 7, 1766

HONOURED AND DEA[R SIR], I had the honor to write to you in August and September last, when I acknowledged with sincere gratitude the favours received from you a little while before, and gave you some account of the great uneasiness in the Colonies, occasioned more especially by the Stamp Act, which do not at all subside, but rather increase; and I am daily more and more confirmed in the opinion, that the said Act will never be received without much blood-shed. Great Britain has doubtless power to enforce it; but not without the destruction of the Colonies, or what is scarce better; and whether this would turn to her account, or not, in the end, would doubtless be well considered by any *wise* and *honest* ministry, before this matter is pressed any farther: How the *present* stands affected, we are impatient to know.

Since my last, I had the honor of receiving your's of September 19, together with the Parcel containing a Book for the President of Harvard College and 6 of the Noble Society's Books of Præmia; the former of which I immediately sent to Mr. Holyoke, and the latter am distributing to the best of my discretion, as I had before done all those that were sent me in times past; which answer valuable purposes in these Colonies, and will do so more and more, to the common advantage of Great Britain, unless wrong-headed politics, and arbitrary measures should intirely interrupt and destroy the commercial intercourse between the Mother country and the Colonies; which God forbid! In the last Parcel came also a very ingenious, sensible book, *A comparative view of the State and faculties of Man, with those of the* [*Anim*]*al World*:[77] Which I have read with much satisfaction, and for which I return you hearty thanks. I am not certain whether I heretofore expressed my Sentiments to you about Voltaire's two last Books, *The Philosophy of History*, and the *Philosophical Dictionary*. Though I cannot agree with him in some of his notions relative to Religion, or rather in what appears to be a great part of his Design, viz., the intire subversion of *Revelation*; yet I cannot but think these, as Compositions, to be very fine Performances. I have read them with high delight, as containing much useful learning, many fine observations on Antiquity, and written throughout in a most spirited, entertaining and masterly way; so that I would not be long without them for thrice their value. In short, I know of no Man, who has a finer pen than Monsieur Voltaire, or who is a greater Master of the Belles Lettres; though there may be greater Philosophers and Mathematicians.

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[77] By John Gregory, M.D., of Edinburgh.

I have found Mr. Fleming's *Letter,* which is very sensible.

The people among us were in transports of Joy on hearing of the change of the Ministry some Months since; and seemed to have the most sanguine expectations. For my own Part, I was glad to hear of the change, because I supposed there could hardly be a worse ministry than the last; and there was at least a chance for a better. But I was not so well acquainted with the charaters of their Successors, as to have any great expectations from them. And, by what you hint, if I had known more about them than I did, this would rather have contributed to lessen, than to increase my hopes from them. By all that a[ppears] to me, the whole Brittish empire is in very deplorable Circumstances, and in imminent danger of coming into much worse, under the hands of such *Operators,* and a pensioned, bribed H[ouse] of C[ommo]ns and H[ouse] of L[ords].

I have taken the Liberty, by this conveyance, to write to Dr. Templeman,[78] seconding the Desire of one Mr. Barnes,[79] an enterprizing Gentleman of this Province, to have some Sarsaparilla of New England production, carefully inspected and examined by the honourable Society to which he is Secretary, or examined under their direction, with candor and impartiality; for which purpose Mr. Barnes has sent a few pounds of that Commodity to the Doctor. The Society's Præmia for Sarsaparilla do not extend to the Northern Colonies; I imagine, because they were not supposed to produce that which is *good*, though they produce this root in plenty. I am not without hopes, that this may be found a mistake, upon trial. And, indeed, it seems not improbable to me, that there may be greater virtue in this root, to the Northward, where, the juices subsiding, the leaves are dried up the greatest part of the year, than in the West India Islands, the Spanish Main, Florida, Georgia, etc. Where it is said to be an Ever-green; and consequently the vigor of the root continually exhausting, perhaps with out a proportionable supply from the earth. I intend to write a few lines to Dr.

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[78] Peter Templeman, M.D., secretary to the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.

[79] Possibly Henry Barnes, a merchant of Marlborough, Massachusetts. A sheer guess.

Franklin, relative to this Matter; and should be exceeding glad, if you and he, to gether with Dr. Templeman, would be pleased to interest yourselves so far in it, as to endeavour to get Mr. Barnes's Sarsaparilla impartially tried: For if it should be thought worthy the Society's encouragement, it might prove very advantageous to the [No]rthern Colonies; and render the importation of this Commodity from Portugal and the Spanish Main almost, if not quite needless, in a little time.

I have the honor to be Your most obliged and Obedient etc.

J. M.

I understand that Sarsap[arilla] imported into Great Britain pays a duty of 8*d* Sterling per lb. which being very considerable, renders the Society's encouragement the more needful.

[*In handwriting of Thomas Hollis:*] P. S. If, upon further Consideration You should be pleased to comply with the request of the Corporation of Harvard College by presenting them Your Picture; You would greatly oblige, not only them, but many other Persons, who are not unacquainted with your name, and generous benefactions to that College: And very particularly one, who has shared often and largely of your Beneficence.

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, April 8, 1766

Dear and Honoured Sir, Since my last, which I think was dated about two Months ago, I received your favor of November 18. I am very much obliged to you for your Civility and good Offices to Mr. Bromfield. I doubt not your Zeal for the joint good of the Mother Country and Colonies. We have had various and contradictory Accounts concerning the disposition of Parliament, as to granting us a redress of our supposed Grievances; and been in anxious expectation to hear the result of that august Assembly. We have been told once or twice lately, that the Stamp Act was repealed; but the News does not yet come so well authenticated, as wholly to dissipate our fears.

The Dutch Inscription, *Frangimur,* etc., is extremely á propos; and has been in our prints since you communicated it to me.

I am much obliged to You, Sir, and to Mr. Harris,[80] for the Books, etc. I am glad the University of Glasgow have done honor to that worthy Gentleman. One of the Universities in Scotland, I am uncertain which, has lately conferred the same honorary degree on a clergyman (nameless) in this Town, who, it is very generally thought, will be no great Credit to the University; though it has been reported here, which I can hardly believe, that Dr. Fr[an]k[li]n recommended him.[81]

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[80] William Harris, nonconformist minister and the author of several biographies.

The Book for the College is sent.

The Books of your noble Donation are put up in the Library in an Alcove by them selves, where they make a very fine appearance. We hear Rumors from time to time, as if Mr. Pitt was soon to come into the Administration; and are credibly informed, that he appeared a Zealous Advocate for the Colonies, at the opening of the last Session of Parliament.

Since your Favor of November 18, I received a Note from you, dated December 21, with some Pamphlets, Extracts, etc., which were very agreeable, and for which I return humble and hearty thanks.

A day or two since I received unexpectedly a very obliging Letter from Archdeacon Blackburne, who mentions you with much respect and honor. He tells m[e] in a postscript, that my Answer to Mr. Apthorp's [last pe]rformance was "impatiently expe[cte]d." I have particularly informed him in a Letter which I now send in return to his favor, what the Reasons of my Silence are. Whether they will be satisfactory to him or not, I cannot tell. I hope they will; for I much esteem him, and honor his Judgment. He has very kindly and condescendingly invited me to correspond with him; a proposal which I readily embraced.

As he may possibly be at London when this arrives, I take the freedom to inclose the letter for him to you. If there should be any thing improper in the Manner of direction, I intreat the favor of you, kind Sir, to put a new Cover to it, and to superscribe it as it ought to be done. And there is nothing in it but what I am very willing you should read, if you think it worth while. I pray God always to bless and prosper You; and am, worthy Sir, with unfeigned Esteem and Gratitude,

Your most obliged Humble Servant

J. M.

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[81] Mather Byles, Harvard 1725, minister of the Hollis Street (Congregational) Church, Boston, was given a D.D. by Aberdeen in 1765 on Franklin's recommendation: Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VII. 480.

Be pleased, when you have convenient opportunity, to give my respectful Compliments to Dr. Harris, to gether with my thanks for his last favor through your hands.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, May 8, 1766

Dear Sir, I wrote a Letter to You November 18, and a note December 21.

Since then I received a very obliging Letter from You, dated January 7.

Concerning the Affair of the Sarsaparilla, in which I have done all the good offices in my Power.

Concerning *Voltaire,* a bold, Veteran Irregular.

D'Alembert, A Writer of far greater Judgment.

I have now to request Your acceptance of a few odd things, among which is the Confessional of Arch Deacon Blackburne. Some Character of that extraordinary and excellent Gentleman.

The Effigies which You desire, may be seen at this time, in the Library of Harvard College, feature by feature; though indeed it would require an exact Eye and some time to cull and put those features together.

The Picture cannot be sent. A Print may, hereafter, it is possible, when the Ideas for it shall have been so settled as to contain matter of more value than the mere likeness of an honest, but plain Man, an Underling in Situation and Abilities.

Rejoice in the Repeal of the Stamp Act. Did all in my little Power toward it, with many other abler and good Men. But the Man who effected it *essentially* was W[illiam] P[itt].

A Detail of the Affair, in the Light which I have viewed it.

The Politics of the Times as I understand them, as of late, in real fact, *Scrub and all Scrub.*

Concerning the Report, that A. B. C. [Archbishop of Canterbury] was desirous to have caused Dr. M[orton] to undergo a Parlamentary examination in case the Stamp act had not been repealed.

More Books, especially on *Government,* are going for New England. "Should those go safe, it is hoped no principal Books on that *first* Subject, will be wanting in Harvard College, from the Days of Moses to these times. Men of New England, Bretheren, Use them for Yourselves and for others, and God bless You!"

Conclusion.

[THOMAS HOLLIS]

JONATHAN MAYHEW TO THOMAS HOLLIS

In the utmost haste, a Ship being about Sailing, I send you this Line. It is accompanied by several Copies of a Sermon, which I preached this Day Week on Occasion of that most interesting Event, the Repeal of the Stamp-Act.[82] By the Advice of Friends, I have presumed to dedicate it to that Right Honorable Personage, who was so strenuous an Assertor, and able Vindicator of the oppressed Liberties of America. I intreat you to take special Care of that which is directed to Him; and also to send others, as directed. Those not directed, I hope you will kindly accept, to be disposed of as you may think proper. It is long since I heard from you.

I pray God to keep and bless you at all Times; and am, Worthy Sir,

Your most obliged and Grateful, etc.

J. MAYHEW

[*In the handwriting of Thomas Hollis:*] Q. What were the Particulars of that Plan of the People of Boston in New England for converting the Indians, which was crushed by our Council?

[*On the verso of the foregoing letter, in the handwriting of Thomas Hollis:*] copied from the *Boston Evening Post* of Munday, June 30, 1766. "Last Tuesday, June 24, the Rev. Dr. *Mayhew* was seized with a violent nervous disorder, which has encreased upon him to such a degree, that he has been for several days past and still remains so dangerously ill, that his Life is despaired of."

Copied from another; dated July 6, 1766. "The Reverend Dr. Mayhew now lies at the Point of death, in a kind of Stupor, and, it is thought, can survive but a few Hours."

By an article in the public Prints, dated Boston, July 14, it appears, that Dr. Mayhew died there July 9.

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] Reverend Dr. Mayhew, Boston, May 30, 1766, received June 30, answered NOT.

Acknowledged to his Widow October 4, 1766.

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[82] *The Snare broken . . . preached . . . May 23, 1766* (Boston, 1766), dedicated to William Pitt.

THOMAS HOLLIS TO JONATHAN MAYHEW

Pall Mall, June 19, 1766

Dear Sir, By the *Lydia* Captain Scot, I sent You a small box of things, with a Letter dated May 8.

Not long since I received a very obliging Letter from You, dated April 8, with another inclosed in it for A. D. [Archdeacon] Blackburne, which was forwarded to him, *unopened,* immediately. His address is, "To The Reverend Mr. Arch deacon Blackburne, at Richmond, in Yorkshire."

I have not the honor to be personally acquainted with this excellent Gentleman, nor to correspond with him directly; but we are *well* known to each other, and have a *great* connexion together by the chanel of a third person, a Relation of his by Marriage the Reverend Mr. Lindsey.[83] For compass of Learning, in his own walk especially, soundness of Judgment, keenness of wit, Pleasantry of humour, experience of Men and Things, and, above all, honesty, benevolence, energy of heart, at least among the Clergy, I know not his Fellow. He is of a good Family, possesses about £300 a year personal Estate, with some Church Preferment; is married; has five Children; is aged about sixty; manly, venerable in look; hearty in Constitution; simple, temperate, most temperate in manners; and likely to endure yet many years, a singularly useful Member of Society, an honor to our Nation!

All the Books that are in the Public Library at Harvard College of my sending, were collected, managed, packed even though not papered, by myself; and a great part of them, in fact, duplicates, a fire having consumed the first Copies at my Bookbinder's, whilst there for fit clothing, not by Convertion of the Apartment in which they were into a Council Chamber, but by an unknown accident of Life—and so I stood consoled!

The excellent Dr. Harris, for such he truely is, though not full out of natural or acquired size to A. D. [Archdeacon] Blackburne, sends You now by my conveyance some more Books; to which I have likewise added a few.

I had observed the *indoctoration* of the Clergyman whom You notice, in our prints, and deemed it, immediately, to have been procured for him by finesse of A. B. C [the Archbishop of Canterbury] and Apthorpe his Understrapper and N. A. [North American] Privy Councellor, in order to match him with more dignity against the Dissenting Divines in New England and the matchless Dr. Mayhew.

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[83] Theophilus Lindsey, rector of Catterick, married Blackburne's stepdaughter in 1760.

I am still of an opinion, that there is no need of Your replying further to Apthorpe; especially after the late trimmings bestowed on him and his *anonimous* Coadjutor, by the Master Arch Deacon.

If the Controversy is at any time to be renewed, and in that shape why not? it should be, I think, by address *direct* to **A. B. C.** In that case, acknowledge his titles once at the beginning and once at the Conclusion of Your work, BUT NO OFTNER, nor, well understood, are You obliged to more by any Etiquette of Politeness, and through the Body of it treat him only with *Sir* and *You,* like any other private Person. This manner will prevent *Subjection* in Your work, give You freer scope in composing it, and *equalize* You. Be not too grave neither, but chearful, as your natural temper shall lead and Your just cause and Vantage Ground will admit. Use *Irony* too; with finest inuendo to his having been bred a Dissenter, to a lay Profession likewise, (an Accoucheur) and practized it. You will find he will feel like Satan to Ithuriel!

What share Dr. F. might have in obtaining the Degree I am ignorant. He is certainly a Man of Knowledge, Ability; wishes well to what is right; loves his Country, N. A. even to partiality; and yet, according to old observings, to me, he is a *Trimmer.*[84] His *Card* too, which came forth in such numbers, appeared *not,* if I am well informed, till after the Death of the D. of C.,[85] and till the Spring, that the Leaders in the Ministry had taken party and *resolved* to repeal the Stamp Act.

All this *in Confidence.*

No Measure certainly was *wiser,* than that of securing an Influence over the Public Prints, which influence evidently has been of highest Utility on both sides [of] the Water and may and will and must be again.

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[84] A just opinion at this time, as Franklin's letters and pamphlets from 1763 to 1765 disclose. On reading Blackburne's *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* Franklin learned of Hollis's unfavorable opinion, and guessed that this was one reason why Hollis seemed to be "shy" of his acquaintance: Franklin to Thomas Brand Hollis, October 5, 1783 (Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* IX. 104).

[85] The Duke of Cumberland died October 31, 1765. By the middle of November, Franklin was actively, though not yet openly, working to secure repeal: Benjamin Franklin, *Letters to the Press, 1758-1775,* Verner W. Crane, Editor, (Chapel Hill, [1950]), 35–38.

I have never seen other Impressions of the *six Medallions* than those I sent to You, and one Impression to Mr. Lindsey.

This moment I receive an Answer from the excellent A. D. Blackburne to Your Letter, under cover from an old friend, Your Well-wisher, the ingenious, worthy Mr. Lindsey; an extract of whose Letter to me, dated Catterick, June 15, I send you.

"The worthy Doctor's Letter to the Arch deacon is fraught with that benignity, good sense and good principle, which mark his eminent character: But he does not seem fully to know, that the Arch Deacon's sentiments of Christian Liberty, though a Churchman and Dignitary, are as free and generous as his own. The answer You send him, Sir, will bring those two valuable men better acquainted with each other, and the result will be, I hope, still farther Communications betwixt them and endeavours for Public Good."

There are not, it maybe, two Persons in the three Nations and Colonies so proper to correspond together for General Benefit and private use and satisfaction, as You excellent Gentlemen. And I deem it as a great instance of the Philanthropy, Judgment, Politeness of the Arch deacon, that he should have offered You, Sir, of himself, his acquaintance and friendship. It became necessary, however, on that account, that You should be apprized *fully* of his Character, which I have endeavoured faithfully as I understand and believe it. He is certainly a great if not the *first* controversial Writer, high-spirited, most high, toward artful and bad opponents, but mild and saving to honest weak ones, and most affectionate and firm to good and great men and his friends.

Political measures continue the same as in my last, only the changes then talked of have not happened, the present Ministry thinking themselves strong enough to stand it as they are.

The Man behind the Curtain [Bute] still governs every thing *effectively*, however, and things are far from going right according to Your and my Ideas.

Conclusion.

[Thomas Hollis]

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*] The small Case of things now sent him was shipped in the *Industry*, Captain Shepherdson.

SAMUEL MATHER TO THOMAS HOLLIS

Boston, New England, July 8, 1766

HONORED SIR, Your Kind Acceptance of the *Dissertations* which I sent You some Time ago, encourages me to hope, that you will kindly receive the small *Essay*,[86] which I now beg leave to put into your Hands. If I am not very much mistaken, there is enough offered in it to break up and remove one considerable Root of Superstition. But, as it is my own Case, I am not willing to judge in it, but freely leave it to others: And, if my Sentiments should prove acceptable to you, you may depend on it, that it would be agreable to me to know it.

Your late Goodness and Beneficence, (as well as your Fore-going Kindnesses) to our College, has fixed deeprooted Esteem and Regard for you, as in the Rest of the Members of that Society, so particularly in the Mind and Heart of one of the Overseers of that Society, who is now writing to you; and who stil retains, and ever will, *dum Spiritus hos regit actos*, a grateful Remembrance of your gracious great uncle's excellent Temper and generous Benefactions.

It appears to be the general Disposition of our Country here to comply with the Royal and Parliamentary Requisitions: And it is thought, that there would be a quick and ready Compliance with them; if one Person, who has had too much Influence on our public Managements, were removed from the Place, which he now enjoys.

I wish You, Honored Sir, continued Health and all manner of Prosperity and Happiness; and am, with great Respect,

Your most humble and obedient Servant

S. MATHER

P. S. My Friend and Kinsman Dr. *Mayhew* (who married my Cousin)[87] is now at the Point of Death: I have just now come from resigning Him to the Father and Redeemer of Spirits.

July 9th. early this Morning departed this Life Dr. *Mayhew*. He was at first seized with a most violent nervous Head-Ach. There were no proper Means used in the Beginning of his Disorder: Hence it fixed, and grew obstinate: And all the Means afterwards used were to very little Purpose. His right Side seemed to be quite *Paralytic*, and continued so. During the Progress of his Distemper, he had ever and anon some little lucid Intervals: But for the most part he continued insensible, until he expired.

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[86] *The Lord's Prayer* . . . (Boston, 1766).

[87] Mayhew married Elizabeth, daughter of John Clark, in 1756. Mather's mother was a Clark.

[*Memorandum by Thomas Hollis:*] "The Lord's Prayer. Or a new attempt to recover the *right version* and *genuine meaning*, of that Prayer. By Samuel Mather, Pastor of a Church in Boston, in New England." Boston, printed by Kneeland and Adams, 1766, in Oct.

Memorandum. Sent the Copy the Day it was received to Williams's Library.[88]

[*Endorsed by Thomas Hollis:*] The Reverend S. Mather, Boston, in New England, July 8, 1766, received August 1, 1767, by a Servant from Charles Paxton, Esq.[89]

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[88] The famous Red Cross Street Library, headquarters of London dissenters, established in 1729 under the will of Daniel Williams, a wealthy Presbyterian minister of London.

[89] Surveyor of Revenue of the Boston collection district, who went to England after the Boston stamp-tax trouble of 1765, and returned in 1767, as a member of the American Customs Board.

Harvard College and Governor Dummer's School

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS[1]

HARVARD was founded for the obvious reason of training ministers for the churches in New England and for a hundred years or more she stuck pretty closely to that task. At the beginning there was little provision for the preparation of boys for their college careers. In the larger communities the Salem Latin School, the Roxbury Latin School, and the Boston Latin School filled the gap for boys living in the immediate vicinity or for boys who could find lodging with friends or relatives near enough to attend. This did not provide for many ambitious boys in the small communities and their only resort for preparation for the College was to the ministers in their own or nearby towns who had enough Latin and Greek to teach them to meet the rather stiff Harvard requirements. Those of 1734 called for translating Virgil and Tully, writing Latin prose and verse, translating the New Testament and "such like" from the Greek, and declining Greek nouns and verbs. If a boy could do all that and had a blameless character he might be admitted.[2] Fortunately most of the New England clergy were classical scholars and well-educated men and could help an ambitious boy eager to go to college, but there was an implied obligation that the boy was training for the ministry. Most ministers did not accept more than one or two boys who could live in their homes and were rather particular that the boys chosen should show signs of enough brains to make it likely that they would be accepted by the College. If all of them got as mad as Dr. Bentley[3] did when one of his pupils failed, it must have been a matter of great personal pride for the minister and rather a ticklish situation for the boy. The worthy doctor remarks, "I offered my young candidate, Benjamin Crowninshield, who after an examination . . . was rejected. The Tutors . . . were men of ordinary attainments. My boy I should prefer to any of them. . . .

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[1] This paper was read at the October, 1949, meeting.

[2] "Body of Laws for Harvard College, 1734," Chapter 1, in *Publications,* Colonial Society of Massachusetts, xv. 134.

[3] *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, The Essex Institute, 4 volumes, 1905-1914), III. 40.

As this was the first time in which any pupil of mine had been questioned . . . I felt enough had I had any respect for his judges. My connections with Cambridge cease."

With the great commercial prosperity which spread over the province, especially after the last French war, there came forward a lot of boys who did not want to be ministers and who therefore had less claim on the local clergy for their preliminary education. In some cases, like that of the Reverend Manasseh Cutler at Hamilton, the minister who liked teaching increased his pupils so as to make a small school of eight or ten boys, and no doubt substantially augmented his income thereby.

All this development Governor Dummer must have observed with the keen eye of an experienced administrator and man of the world. He was a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Newbury, and the original grant to Richard Dummer, his grandfather, is the property still owned by his school. It has never changed hands.

The Dummers were business men, not in the complicated theological tradition of the New England ministry. Richard was one of the so-called "cattle men" of Newbury who got large grants of meadowland where they could cut hay, for they imported many cattle into New England. He also had a saw mill and a grist mill at the falls on his property.[4] With four children of the widow Burr, whom he presently married, and those they had jointly, he soon found himself with ten children.

The youngest was Jeremiah, who was apprenticed to John Hull, the silversmith,[5] and became a distinguished silversmith himself. He was the father of William Dummer, who was acting governor of the province for about eight years, and of Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of Massachusetts in London and the author of the famous *Defense of the New England Charters.* Jeremiah was a Ph.D. of the University of Utrecht and was complimented for a speech he made in very fluent Latin at the Harvard Commencement in 1704. Increase Mather suggested him as professor of philology, but as nothing came of it he rather transferred his love to the Collegiate School in Connecticut and was responsible for wangling out of that old reprobate, Elihu Yale, the gifts of books and other things which persuaded the New Haven people to change the name of the Collegiate School to Yale College.[6]

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[4] Joshua Coffin, *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845* (Boston, 1845), 16.

[5] Hermann Frederick Clarke and Henry Wilder Foote, *Jeremiah Dummer, Colonial Craftsman and Merchant, 1645–1718* (Boston, 1935), 15.

William Dummer grew up in Boston, where by 1700 his father was quite a merchant, and in 1702 at age 24 he turns up in Plymouth, England, perhaps as agent for his father. He stayed there about ten years and presently married one of the English Dummer cousins whose father was commissioner of the port of Plymouth. Later he became commissioner himself, but as his wife soon died, he came back to America and in due time married Ann Dudley, the daughter of the governor. He went back to England in 1716 in time to secure his appointment as lieutenant governor. He soon returned with Governor Shute and was sworn in on October 5, 1716.[7] We are not here interested in his political career — suffice it to say that after the departure of Governor Shute in a fit of temper in 1722, he ruled as governor till Governor Burnet arrived in 1728 and then had still another year after Governor Burnet died; so, all told, he had about as long a term as most of the royal governors.[8]

The farm in Newbury had been deeded to the governor by his father; so after he retired he lived there summers and in Boston winters for the remaining thirty years of his life. He early built the lovely mansion house still standing on the Academy grounds and dispensed a genial hospitality to all the important people who inevitably passed to and fro along the old Bay Road, which went by his front door. He had no children and the question of what to do with his wide estate must have often come into his mind, and after his wife's death he gave it early consideration and made a rather lengthy will. It was signed in 1756 and offered for probate in 1761, soon after his death.

There are two very interesting clauses in this will[9] for our present discussion, namely the first "item" and the nineteenth and twentieth "items" taken together. The first item, before he mentions any of his family or friends, gives his farm and lands in Newbury with all the buildings thereon to three trustees—the Reverend Thomas Foxcroft and the Reverend Charles Chauncey, ministers of the First Church in Boston, and Mr. Nathaniel Dummer of Newbury and their heirs and survivors forever, but in trust. They were to use the first income of the farm to erect a grammar school, which in the language of the time meant a Latin school, and thereafter to devote all the income[10] to the support of a grammar-school master and to no other purpose whatever. It will be noticed that the trustees own the property absolutely and can allow the use of the income only for these special purposes, but they have no other control of the expenditure of the funds. A special committee, consisting of the minister of Byfield parish and five principal inhabitants, freeholders of the parish, to be elected annually, is set up which shall decide where the schoolhouse is to be built on the property and shall have the appointment of the master of the school. Once the master of the school has been chosen, the courses of study and methods of instruction are entirely in his hands. Here let the proponents of academic freedom who think it is a new thing in the twentieth century take notice. Let me quote from his will: "When so chosen and appointed in manner as aforesaid, to be and remain master of said School without any Removal, unless through Sickness, advanc'd Years and inability, or by a profligate wicked Life he shall be adjudg'd and sentenc'd by a majority of the overseers of Harvard Colledge to be displaced." Only then can the minister and the parish committee appoint a new master as if he "was naturally Dead." The only requirement stipulated for scholars in the school is that they "can read English well."

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[6] *Documentary History of Yale University*, Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Editor, (New Haven, 1916), 56; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), Part II. 469, 535*n.*, 548, 560.

[7] 5 *Collections*, VII *(The Diary of Samuel Sewall)*, 105.

[8] For full details of Governor Dummer's family and his career, see J. D. Phillips, "Governor Dummer's Family and his School," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXXI (1945), 35-53.

[9] Photostat of the will, in this Society.

The other reference to Harvard College in the will is a gift of £200, one third to be spent for books and the other two thirds to be put out on lawful interest, and the income to be divided equally between the professors of divinity and mathematics which "the Reverend Corporation may never consider as part of their Salary, but as it is design'd for an overpluss by me." I wonder if the two Hollis professors of divinity and mathematics are still getting that little "overpluss," which might amount even to $12 or $15 apiece. No other educational project except his grammar school, which came first, and Harvard College is mentioned in the will. His Byfield and Boston churches are all remembered and there is a special gift for their poor. The rest of his fortune goes to his family and friends, and the old gentleman must have left a good deal.

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[10] The farm was producing £80 a year by 1790. *Diary of William Bentley*, I. 182.

The most interesting clause in the will is the provision for "academic freedom." The old governor had had considerable experience with people interfering when he was trying to do a job, and he did not intend to have his parish committee coming in every day or two to tell the master how to teach. If they did not like the school, they need not send their boys there. It would be a good plan if some of these modern civil-rights enthusiasts got the same idea.

Now how did it all work out? The trustees promptly announced they were ready to build the schoolhouse, the parish committee was elected and selected a site in front of the Mansion House, and then the building, which still stands on the Academy grounds but fortunately not at Mr. Eames's front door, was built. The parish committee went promptly to the job of finding a master and chose Samuel Moody, of York, Maine. He was graduated from Harvard in the small class of twelve in 1746. The famous Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, of Salem, and Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, of Boston, father of the architect, were also of this class. Moody was a cousin of that rampant old divine who went as a chaplain on the Louisburg expedition armed with a hatchet to smash the images in the Catholic churches. The Moodys were forceful, erratic people, but they were also strong, well-educated men. His great-great-uncle Joshua Moody has the unique distinction of having been elected president of Harvard in 1684 and having been confirmed by the overseers and of then declining the invitation! Later he stood stiffly up against the mob hysteria of the Witchcraft Delusion.[11]

Master Moody's father was that Joshua Moody of the York church who always wore a handkerchief over his face as a penance for having by accident caused the death of a friend, and was therefore known as "Handkerchief Moody," but he was a very brilliant and able man all the same.

Three generations of Moodys had already gone to Harvard, and Samuel Moody had made a success of his little school at York, where Joseph Willard was educated. Innumerable stories have come down about Master Moody's erratic behavior and habits, but he was an enthusiast for cleanliness—mental, moral, and physical—good food, physical exercise, and hard study, pretty good components of a school.

The school opened on March 1, 1763. Mr. Moody and twenty-eight boys were on hand for the opening. The Reverend Moses Parsons, of

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[11] Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, Part II. 444, 494.

Byfield, preached a sermon on the appropriate text, "The liberal deviseth liberal things,"[12] and offered prayer, and the school was started on its long career.

Mr. Moody was a bachelor and gave his attention entirely to the teaching of the boys. He was an excellent French, Latin, and Greek scholar and knew some Hebrew. He had a good knowledge of boys and something entirely lacking in many modern idealistic teachers, a lot of plain common sense. His brother Joseph and his wife were installed in the Mansion House, boarded the boys, and ran the farm. The income of the farm was no doubt considerable, and the produce also probably helped materially to keep down the household expenses.

The school was now a going concern. The three trustees had built the schoolhouse and had nothing more to do except see that the farm was not stripped. The parish committee had selected the school site and chosen a schoolmaster. They had nothing more to do so long as the schoolmaster did not lead "a profligate and wicked life" which would justify them in bringing a case against him before the overseers of Harvard College. For all intents and purposes both governing boards were laid on the shelf for the rest of Master Moody's life.

Now the next question is, how did the institution work out as a Harvard preparatory school or at least as a college preparatory school, for Dartmouth and Yale were already going. Unfortunately there is no list of graduates by classes for Master Moody's term of service, but there is a list of all his boys. Now checking this list back against the old *Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue*, we can get the Governor Dummer School boys who were Harvard graduates. Assuming that it took two or three years to prepare boys, the Harvard class of 1768 was the first in which they could appear and apparently did, in full force. One seventh of that class were Master Moody's boys and among them the two most prominent members of the class: John Wentworth, of Exeter, later a member of the Continental Congress, and Benjamin West, later a delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention. And so it continued right down to 1776, when the Revolution disrupted both the Academy and the College. Sixty-two of the three hundred and fifty-one Harvard graduates of that period came from Governor Dummer's little school. Of the class of 1771, the largest class graduated from Harvard during the period, they supplied more than twenty per cent. In this class were David Tappan, later Hollis Professor of Divinity, and Samuel Phillips, who so thoroughly convinced his father and his uncle of the value of such a school that one founded Phillips Academy at Andover and the other Phillips Academy at Exeter. A Governor Dummer graduate may fairly be considered the founder, or at least the instigator, of both.

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[12] Isaiah, xxxii. 8.

Other brilliant graduates of Harvard during the eight pre-Revolutionary years who were also graduates of Governor Dummer were Theophilus Parsons, probably the author of the proposals which produced the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution, and later chief justice of Massachusetts and a fellow of Harvard College; Samuel Osgood, member of the Continental Congress and later postmaster general; Samuel Tenney, a member of Congress and a corresponding member of this Society; Professor Eliphalet Pearson, principal of Phillips Andover and later professor of Hebrew and a fellow and acting president of Harvard College.

In addition to the graduates of Harvard, the school list has quite a number more boys marked "Harvard College" but without a date of graduation and not in the *Quinquennial Catalogue,* which would seem to indicate that a goodly number more entered than survived the four-year ordeal and became, therefore, what we call "socially connected" with these early classes. Including these, probably over twenty per cent of the Harvard student population during all those pre-Revolutionary years was from Governor Dummer Academy. This is, of course, not surprising in view of the fact that an abnormal amount of the brains and intelligence of Massachusetts was concentrated in Essex County and the surrounding counties of New Hampshire and Maine into which its people had spread.

The governor's school was always a patriotic institution, and in 1774, when the Boston Port Bill caused great poverty and want, the students contributed £7 and the parish of Byfield £10 16*s.* for the poor of Boston—no inconsiderable sum in those days.[13]

During the eight long years of the Revolution and the six lean years that followed, Governor Dummer never failed to send at least one boy to Harvard each year, and the college classes dropped down so sharply that the percentage was better than ever. In the twenty-two years that Master Moody was sending boys to Harvard, five hundred and one boys graduated, of whom one hundred and twenty-eight, or twenty-five and a half per cent, came from Governor Dummer Academy. Can any other preparatory school show so large a contribution over so long a term of years? During the same time it sent twenty-six boys to Dartmouth, five to Yale, and three to Brown.

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[13] John Louis Ewell, *The Story of Byfield* (Boston, 1904), 121.

Master Moody's boys were not content simply to go to Harvard: they soon wanted a hand in its management. One, Eliphalet Pearson, was acting president for two years and another, Samuel Webber, president for four. Pearson, Theophilus Parsons, and William Prescott were all fellows of Harvard College, and three graduates were overseers.[14]

Nor was the school lacking during this period in supplying men to other walks of life. Major Andrew McClary, who was killed at Bunker Hill, was among the first to see service in the Revolution. There were many more, including a brigadier general and five other commissioned officers. Commodore Edward Preble, commander of the frigate *Essex*, with a long and distinguished career, got his education at Governor Dummer, as did David Ochterlony, later Sir David Ochterlony, Baronet, major general of the British Army in India, whose statue decorates the great square in Calcutta. Among Master Moody's boys there were also two chief justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts,[15] and seven other judges of various sorts,[16] eighteen members of Congress[17] and five senators,[18] both of the men who signed the Constitution in behalf of Massachusetts,[19] and one ambassador to Great Britain. All told, it is quite a noble record.

But in spite of all this dissemination of knowledge and liberal culture, it seems that the Devil, even after the licking he got in 1693, had not given up his visits to Essex County. About five o'clock in the afternoon of April 27, 1778, the boys of the school were terrified (or said they were) to see a giant figure some twenty feet high moving swiftly through the air some feet above the ground. With a terrifying scream of "Hoo, hoo" he passed up the road toward the meetinghouse, scaring Mr. Whittam, who was driving home his cows, out of his wits and dispersing the herd, near the parsonage. He shunned the church but went by Deacon Searle's house and finally off over Hunslow Hill. Many people claimed to have seen him; and Deacon Colman, who had been having a controversy with the Reverend Mr. Parsons because he insisted on retaining his old colored cook who was a slave, was sure the visitation was due to the heinous sin of slavery thriving in their midst. Coffin does not deign to mention this event in his *History of Newbury*. Ewell[20] records what he called this bit of history, but Emery's *Reminiscences of a Nonogenarian* rejoices in it. As for Deacon Colman, he published a full account in the *Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet*, and attributed what he called the "diabolical visitation" to the slaveholding propensities of the minister! One is inclined to feel that the belief in witches and a personal devil will never die. The lady novelists particularly love it. There are three novels on the subject out this year, all claiming absolute historical accuracy where there is little sign of truth in them.

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[14] Benjamin Pickman, William Prescott, and Dudley Atkins Tyng.

[15] The Honorable Theophilus Parsons and the Honorable Samuel Sewall.

[16] All judges of the Court of Common Pleas in states mentioned, unless otherwise stated: George Bradbury, Judge of Probate, Massachusetts; Nathaniel Dummer, Maine; Ray Greene, United States Circuit Court; Oliver Peabody, New Hampshire; Samuel Phillips, Massachusetts; William Prescott, Massachusetts; and Samuel Tenney, New Hampshire.

[17] Representatives: John Allen, Joseph Allen, George Bradbury, Richard Cutts, Edward Dowse, Nathaniel Folsom, Jonathan Freeman, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, Jeremiah Nelson, Samuel Osgood, Benjamin Pickman, Samuel Sewall, Clement Storer, Samuel Tenney, Thomas W. Thompson, John Wentworth, and Phillips White. Samuel Phillips (1752–1802) was a delegate to the Provincial Congress.

[18] Senators: Charles Cutts, New Hampshire; Ray Greene, Rhode Island; Rufus King, New York; Clement Storer, New Hampshire; and Thomas W. Thompson, New Hampshire.

[19] Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King.

At the end of the Revolution a great change occurred in the administration of the school. All Governor Dummer's trustees except the Reverend Charles Chauncey had died, and the sphere of authority between the trustees and the parish committee had become confused. Master Moody was showing decided signs of slipping, and who was to take the unpleasant steps toward his removal? It seems to have been Charles Chauncey who took the initiative in the reorganization and petitioned the General Court to incorporate the school. The first board of trustees included five members of the Dummer family, as well as Master Samuel Moody, Joseph Willard, President of Harvard College, and enough other prominent ministers and citizens in Essex County to make fifteen in all. All Master Moody's rights are reserved to him including, of course, his right of appeal to the Harvard overseers if his removal is suggested. The reversion of the gift of Governor Dummer to his heirs in case the school suspends operation for two years is retained, but a new provision is added, namely that any property subsequently acquired by the trustees shall revert, if the school is abandoned, to the corporation of Harvard College.[21] This was rather a hollow provision then, but in 1949 the Academy owns land and buildings not included in the Dummer bequest worth over a million dollars. These provisions for forfeiture if the school was ever suspended for two consecutive years undoubtedly often prodded the trustees to action in the subsequent lean years.

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[20] Ewell, *Byfield*, 154.

The records of the new board of trustees were evidently kept in Judge Parsons's office by one of his clerks who wrote well; therefore the first four or five years of the record book are in the beautiful, clear hand of John Quincy Adams, later President of the United States.

Only too late did the parish committee awake to the fact that they had been eliminated and that the school belonged to fifteen self-perpetuating trustees who could run it as they pleased and charge what tuition they pleased, and did. It is only in the last twenty years that the trustees have seen the justice of complying with Governor Dummer's intent by admitting boys of Byfield parish and Newbury for nominal fees.

Master Moody was succeeded by the Reverend Isaac Smith, who had been a tutor at Harvard, then a minister of a small dissenting congregation near Exeter in England, and then returned, as librarian, to Cambridge, where he prepared a printed catalogue of the Harvard Library. He was a worthy, cultured gentleman, but, during his easy-going administration, the school deteriorated.[22] Nevertheless, ten per cent of his two hundred and ninety-four boys went to Harvard and about as many more to other New England colleges. Among the Harvard graduates were the great physician, Dr. James Jackson, professor and overseer at Harvard, and Dr. Parker Cleaveland, professor of chemistry and mineralogy at Bowdoin, fellow of the Royal Geological Society, and many other things. The elder Patrick Tracy Jackson, not a Harvard graduate, but a very distinguished merchant, was also one of his boys.

It is not our purpose to trace the history of the Academy except so far as it touches Harvard. There was no one especially notable in its list of masters except Abiel Abbot, whose name occurs so often among the family of Seth Low, late president of Columbia, and Henry Durant. Durant, who did not make much of a success in Byfield, later started the school on the shores of San Francisco Bay which in due time became the University of California. Nehemiah Cleaveland should be mentioned because, for the centennial anniversary of the Academy, he wrote an historical address for which all friends of the Academy will be eternally grateful, and also because his term of twenty years was the most successful of the nineteenth century.

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[21] Original charter still preserved by the Academy.

[22] *Diary of William Bentley*, I. 291, 339; II. 12, 113.

It always interests people to know what things cost, and the earliest mention of tuition which I can find places it at $3 per quarter with board and lodging at $1.50 per week in 1835. By 1854 it had risen to $6 per term with board and lodging $2.50 to $3 per week. The requirements for admission in 1839 were that the applicant should be "well instructed in reading and spelling and have mastered Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic* and Woodbridge's *Rudiments of Geography*." Apparently the Academy expected to teach him everything else, but about this time there began to appear regularly in the catalogue the statement that the instruction was based on "the principle that a man's education depends on the amount of discipline he has received and not upon the extent and variety of subjects he has pursued." Wouldn't that make a modern "progressive" teacher squirm? By 1876 they had changed the wording but not the theory. "The discipline of the mind is regarded as of more importance than the mere acquisition of knowledge" was then the wording in the catalogue.[23]

It became increasingly difficult to operate a successful boarding school when high schools of good standing were supplying free education in the home towns of all the available pupils. It was not until political pressure eliminated real discipline from our high schools and a strong classical curriculum gave way before the demand to teach baseball and football, beauty-parlor technique and dressmaking, that the academies came back into their own again. The lowest ebb was in the eighties and nineties, and the good schools have been going up ever since.

It has been in the board of trustees that the Harvard influence has been most evident. Six presidents of Harvard have served on the board. Joseph Willard was most active for twenty-two years, but Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, James Walker, C. C. Felton, and Thomas Hill gave much help in troublous times. Perhaps it should also be said that, in its very worst spasms, President Eliot gave active endorsement to the idea of the Academy by writing letters to help in a money-raising campaign. Curiously enough, the two graduates, Samuel Webber and Eliphalet Pearson, who were respectively president and acting president of Harvard, were never elected to the Governor Dummer board. Of the forty-four trustees who served during the first forty years after it was incorporated, twenty-two were Harvard graduates, two were fellows of the college, and four became overseers.

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[23] These data are from a file of *Catalogues of Dummer Academy* from 1833, at the Essex Institute, Salem.

It is neither interesting nor valuable to trace the long decline to the nineties but, whether the resurgence was due to a group of Harvard men or not, it is contemporary with the arrival of Professor James Hardy Ropes on the board of trustees, soon followed by Frederick P. Cabot, later judge of the juvenile court, Moorfield Story, William R. Castle, and others. Charles S. Ingham, a Yale graduate, was invited to become headmaster and, by twenty-three years of hard work, brought the school up from an enrollment of thirty-one to seventy-five boys with much higher standing and much better equipment.

At this point the present brilliant headmaster, Edward W. Eames, took up the burden. The board was reorganized again with a Harvard man at its head, and at least five of the fifteen trustees have been Harvard graduates, though the headmaster and several very helpful members of the board are Amherst graduates and men from other colleges.

The school began to grow rapidly, and for several years we sent an abnormal number of boys to Harvard out of each class, forty-six in all, but this rapidly leveled off, and now, of the senior class, Harvard gets a suitable proportion compared to the other colleges out of an enrollment of some two hundred and twenty. In the last four years two hundred and two boys have been admitted to college, of whom thirty-two have gone to Harvard, just twice as many as to any other single college. The deans tell us they stand well at Harvard, and we know that some of them graduate *magna cum laude* and are chosen to Phi Beta Kappa.

During the war it is hard to say how many boys could be classified as going to Harvard. They graduated directly into the fighting forces and went where they were sent. Almost all the alumni since 1930 were in the war as well as many earlier ones, some seven hundred in all, and the fact that twenty-eight lost their lives, much larger than the ordinary percentage, suggests that they did not seek the easy berths.

Last year eight Governor Dummer boys graduated from Harvard, one of them *cum laude*, another *magna cum laude* (which secured his election to Phi Beta Kappa). This suggests that the school can not only fit boys for entrance, but it can also fit them to stay in college, a far more difficult matter.

Up to a few years ago, no gift of as much as twenty-five thousand dollars had ever been received by the school since Governor Dummer's time. The school has grown by many small gifts of many loyal friends, and yet in the last fifteen years over three quarters of a million dollars' worth of buildings have been built and added to the plant. If it ever reverts to Harvard, she will receive a handsome property. The school has no deficits. The five men on the finance committee don't believe in trusting to luck. They want to see the money before it is spent, so the school with a single exception in these last twenty years has run in black, not red, figures and is steadily paying off a small sum on its mortgage. In short, it is a New England school run on New England principles of thrift and economy, and the management does not believe that those people who pay their bills are enemies of society as was recently enunciated in high places.

The board of trustees consists of fifteen men so much interested in the school that thirteen is about the average attendance. We are not interested in distinguished personages who will give us their names. The conditions for being a trustee recently enunciated were that he should do all the work he could for the school, give it all the money he could, and need expect no reward whatever except the consciousness of a duty well performed.

And so, as Governor Dummer Academy reaches out toward the end of its second century as the oldest boarding school in America, its president is a Harvard man, and it is still sending a goodly quota of good students to Harvard as well as many to other universities throughout the country.[24]

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[24] General references: Nehemiah Cleaveland, *The First Century of Dummer Academy* (Boston, 1865); *Exercises at the 125th Anniversary of Dummer Academy* (Salem, 1888); *A History of Dummer Academy together with an Account of the Proceedings in Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the School* (Newburyport, 1914); *The Act of Incorporation, By-laws, Rules, and Regulations of Dummer Academy at Byfield* (Boston, 1848); *Catalogues of Dummer Academy* from 1833 to 1928, mostly printed in Salem before 1900, then in Newburyport, at the Essex Institute; *Harvard University Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates, 1636–1930* (Cambridge, 1930); Benjamin Peirce, *A History of Harvard University, from its Foundation, in the Year 1636, to the Period of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1833); and *The 175th Anniversary of Governor Dummer Academy, June 9 and 10, 1938* (Newburyport, 1939).

The Henry-Crillon Affair of 1812

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON[1]

IN March of the year 1812, American newspapers presented their readers with a sensational account of an Anglo-Canadian plot to divide the Union. The British government, it appeared, had employed an American citizen named John Henry to foment disloyalty against the United States in New England. Struck with remorse at the part he had played, and seeking to expose the infamous diplomacy of perfidious England, John Henry presented the documents of his mission to President Madison, who now gave them to the public. The disclosure of the "Henry Plot," and its aftermath of investigations and exposures, added one more thrill to an exciting year, a year of war and presidential election.

The sensation that this disclosure created may be gauged by the mixed metaphors with which Harriet Otis, of Boston, daughter of the Secretary of the United States Senate, recorded it in her diary:

> *Monday, March 9th.* The Senate were detained untill a late hour reading the base and unexpected disclosures of John Henry ! ! ! the vain self-sufficient but as I had imagined noble minded friend of the enthusiastic H. C. this man has so lowered his proud spirit as to become the base agent of the british government in spying out the dissentions of the country to which he has sworn allegiance and on being dissapointed of a reward equal to his expectations has had the shameless affrontery to betray the transactions of his employers to our government. This is now presented to the public to implicate the northern federalists in a view

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[1] This paper was read at the December, 1949, meeting.

The Henry letters purchased by the United States government were printed in many, if not most American newspapers in March, 1812, and in "Wait's State Papers, VIII": *State Papers and Publick Documents of the U. S., 1811–1815* (Boston: T. B. Wait & Sons, 1815), and in the folio, *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs,* Volume VIII. The manuscripts sold to the United States are now in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Henry Adams discovered another set of copies, including the 1808 correspondence which John Henry did not sell, in the Public Record Office, London. Printed extracts are in his *History of the U.S.A. during the Second Administration of Thomas Jefferson,* II (IV of the entire work), 242–248 (1890), and other references to the Henry Plot are found in Volumes V and VI. What appear to be the originals are in the Canadian Archives, and are calendared in Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives 1893* (Ottawa, 1894), Q 109, pages 24–31. Henry Adams also discovered who the "Comte de Crillon" really was, and contributed an article on him to the *American Historical Review,* I (1895), 50–69. Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, *The Political Adventures of John Henry* (Toronto, 1936), reprints a number of the original letters and contains other valuable data on Henry's Canadian connections.

of severing the union and becoming attached to G. Britain. but I trust the aim will be fruitless, for what has it discovered but that the british ministers are on the watch to take advantage of querelous murmurs of men who when they see their interests neglected will scold and complain as every man in a free government has a right to do without being suspected of traitorous designs. But how astonishing does it seem to me that this rolling stone who fluttered about without any other apparent aim than his own amusement should have been harbouring in his breast such views and the romantic generous spirit that seemed too sublimated to "grub this earthly hole, in low pursuit," should degrade iteslf to such baseness. I now recur with curiosity to every interview I ever had with him and every word I have heard him utter to discover some mark of treachery.[2]

After the lapse of a century and a half, we can gather together the loose threads of the "Henry Plot" from the archives at Washington, Paris, and Toronto, and reconstruct the story of how John Henry and a fellow impostor tricked the President of the United States into paying fifty thousand dollars for a few worthless documents.

Henry Adams told the story many years ago; both in his *History of the United States,* and in the first volume of the *American Historical Review* he presented the essential facts of a very shabby affair. Around 1910, when studying the life of Harrison Gray Otis, I went into it again, but could find only a few additional details, mostly on John Henry's life after 1812—a part of his career which had escaped Henry Adams's notice. Owing to the fact that a granddaughter of the double renegade was still living, and still ignorant of her grandfather's record, I decided to publish nothing during her lifetime; and by the time she died, in 1917, I was so involved in other matters that the completed article has lain idle in my files ever since.

John Henry (alias John Adrien Henry, alias John St. Adrien) was born in Ireland about 1777 and came to America at the age of twenty-one. Through the influence of a rich uncle in New York, Daniel McCormick by name, he obtained a captain's commission in the United States Army, then being enlarged in preparation for war with France.[3] The following year, 1799, he married Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of the Reverend Jacob Duché, of Philadelphia. This gave him connections with the Hopkinsons and other prominent families of Philadelphia and Baltimore.[4] In 1800, when the army was being reduced in size, Captain Henry resigned his commission. Armed with letters of introduction from Thomas Boylston Adams and others, he settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts.[5] There he appears to have moved in the best circles, and to have become acquainted with leading families of Boston and Cambridge, such as the Gerrys, Willards, and Carys. Two or three years later he removed to Windsor, Vermont, where he read law and wrote articles for the newspapers of a high Federalist and pro-British tone. Sidney Willard mentions seeing the Henry family at Windsor in 1804; he and the governor of Vermont dined with them. He describes Henry as a handsome man who had seen much of the world, an entertaining companion, devoted to his wife and to the education of two young daughters.[6] But he did not stay in Windsor long. Around the year 1804 he removed to Montreal, where he seems to have been employed by one or more of the big Scots-Canadian fur companies. Supported by them and by other prominent Canadians, he applied for a puisne judgeship in Upper Canada, but Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore denied him the office in September, 1808, on the ground that he was "an Irish adventurer and a citizen of the United States," who had not even been called to the bar in Vermont or Canada.[7]

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[2] Harrison Gray Otis Manuscripts: Massachusetts Historical Society. Printed in S. E. Morison, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis . . .* (Boston and New York, 1913), II. 45–46. Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry,* 60, is incorrect in stating that Harriet lived with her half-brother Otis; she lived with her father in Washington, but made frequent visits to her friends and relatives in Boston.

[3] Commission recorded in *Journal Executive Proceedings,* Senate I. 277. Henry's signature as president of a court martial, September 5, 1798, is in the Hamilton Manuscripts: Library of Congress, XLIV. 173.

Even before being turned down for this job, Henry had begun espionage activities on a voluntary basis. During a business journey to Boston, starting in February, 1808, he wrote letters about the state of public opinion in New England to Herman W. Ryland, Secretary of Lower Canada, in the hope that they would be called to the attention of the governor, Sir James Craig. They were; Sir James, impressed, forwarded the letters to Lord Castlereagh, in London. Wishing to ascertain whether, in case of war between the United States and Great Britain, New England could be kept neutral or even detached from the Union, the governor sent Henry to Boston in February, 1809, with credentials that he was authorized to present to any leaders in whom he might perceive a willingness to promote neutrality or secession.[8] Henry also carried letters of introduction from leading people of Philadelphia and Montreal, which procured him an entry to Boston society, even better than he had enjoyed during his Cambridge residence. And, as state politics were then controlled by the socially leading families of Boston, Henry needed nothing more to get in touch with the situation.

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[4] Charles P. Keith, *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 278. The *Dictionary of American Biography* is wrong in saying that Henry married a French émigrée—that was what Crillon said before Congress. John Henry married Elizabeth Sophia Duché, May 23, 1799. She was a daughter of the Reverend Jacob Duché and Elizabeth Hopkinson. The latter was daughter of Thomas Hopkinson and sister of Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791). Francis's son, Joseph Hopkinson, wrote to his brother-in-law, Edward J. Coale, of Baltimore, March 15, 1812, denouncing the "Henry Plot" as a "contemptible exhibition of electioneering machinery," calling Henry a poor creature, and qualifying as "preposterous and ridiculous" any story that Henry could have been a British agent to divide the United States.

[5] *Proceedings,* American Antiquarian Society, n.s., XXVII (1917), 88; Monroe's letter of February 22, 1812, introducing Henry to Joel Barlow: Henry Manuscripts, page 51.

[6] Sidney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood* (Cambridge, 1855), II. 130. Willard states that he had originally met Henry at his father's, President Joseph Willard's, house in Cambridge.

[7] Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry,* 15.

At the time of Henry's second visit to Boston, the embargo had been in force over a year, and the people of New England were becoming desperate over the prostration of their maritime commerce and its dependent industries. Forcible resistance to the embargo was openly discussed in the newspapers, and its provisions were violated whenever opportunity offered. Henry reported all this to his employer, and predicted that if the situation lasted much longer, measures looking toward secession would set on foot. This statement, for which he gave no authority, was probably founded on after-dinner conversations in Federalist circles. Dinners in those days were prolonged affairs, beginning at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, and lasting well into the evening. After the ladies had retired and the Madeira had been circulating for an hour or two, the guests doubtless gave vent to some rather extreme remarks about "that Jacobin in the White House." If certain gentlemen regretted that New England had ever cast off her allegiance to the mother country, or declared that they would welcome a return to the House of Hanover rather than continue under the Virginia Dynasty, it would not have been surprising.

Before Henry concluded his visit, Congress repealed the embargo, and excitement quickly subsided. "I lament the repeal of the Embargo," wrote Henry to Sir James Craig on March 15, "because it was calculated to accelerate the progress of these states toward a revolution that would have put an end to the only republick that remains to prove, that a government founded on political equality can exist in a season of trial and difficulty, or is calculated to ensure either security or happiness to a people."[9] On June 11 he was back in Montreal.

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[8] The credentials, dated February 6, 1809, are printed in "Wait's State Papers," VIII. 40, and Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry*, 42.

Henry's services were ostensibly gratuitous. Before going to New England, he neither asked nor received pay from the Canadian government. Although he afterwards claimed that his sole motive was hatred of the republic in whose army he had served, subsequent events make it clear that his real object was to obtain a government job, or money, or both. But all he could get out of the governor was two hundred pounds for travelling expenses.[10] In 1810 Ryland went to London on a government mission, and Henry followed him thither early next year, hoping that the Canadian secretary would help him to obtain compensation. Apparently he was wined and dined by Lord Liverpool and other members of the British government, but refused pecuniary compensation. That refusal, as it turned out, was unwise, though natural, since Henry knew little more than the British minister at Washington read in Federalist newspapers, and less than Senator Pickering was writing to George Rose, the former British minister. Moreover, the governor of Nova Scotia had sent John Howe, a former Boston Loyalist, to the Eastern States during the embargo, and Howe's reports on the political situation were much more definite and thorough than Henry's.[11]

Impecunious and resentful, not knowing where to turn next, Henry made the acquaintance of the second character in this affair, the self-styled Comte Edouard de Crillon. Soubiran (his real name) was a Gascon adventurer, son of a goldsmith of Lectoure. He had travelled all over France and the Continent gambling and fighting, playing the rôles of colonel, consul, ambassador, Spanish grandee and knight of sundry noble orders, eluding the police of almost every country in Europe. At one time, it seems, he was a member of Marshal Ney's staff but was dismissed for appropriating money entrusted to him. When John Henry met the bogus count, he had taken refuge in Eng-

[9] "Wait's State Papers," VIII, page 9, where it is wrongly dated March 13.

[10] Henry Manuscripts, 17–18.

[11] Howe's reports are printed in the *American Historical Review,* XVII (1911–1912), 70–102 and 332–354.

land as the only European country then beyond the reach of Napoleon's police. Henry was a mere bungler compared with Crillon, whose fertile brain conceived a brilliant scheme for retrieving the fortunes of himself and his twin brother in adversity. Why not sell to the French minister at Washington, or even to the American government, Henry's copies of his correspondence with Sir James Craig, share the proceeds, and return to France to enjoy the prestige of having exposed the secret diplomacy of *Albion perfide?* Of course this involved betraying England as he had earlier betrayed the United States; but Henry conveniently remembered he was an Irishman, and the notion that his betrayal would help right Ireland's wrongs was very comforting to him.

The two rogues shook hands on this proposition, took passage on the ship *New Galen* at the Isle of Wight, and landed in Boston on Christmas Eve, 1811.

As Henry's old friends were not likely to be of much use to him in this new enterprise, he kept quiet at the Exchange Coffee House on State Street—leading a life of debauchery, if the Federalist press after the disclosures may be believed. In the meantime, the "Comte de Crillon" busied himself in making profitable contacts. Bishop Cheverus gave him a letter to Bishop Carroll at Baltimore, introducing "the very respectable Count de Crillon Knight of Malta with whom I have had the honor and happiness of getting acquainted during his too short residence in Boston."[12] And Henry obtained from Governor Elbridge Gerry a letter of introduction to President Madison, describing him as one "who for his professional, literary and polite accomplishments has been much respected by all his acquaintance."[13]

Crillon reached Washington in January, 1812, and lost no time in making himself known to President Madison. He and Henry could not have chosen a more favorable moment for their game. Henry Clay and his following of young, impetuous Western Democrats were consciously whipping up sentiment for war with England; President Madison had fallen in line with the "war hawks"; yet public opinion in the Eastern States was apathetic toward war. The Federalist party not only opposed war with England but was endeavoring to convince the people that the Republicans had sold out to Napoleon. So, when Crillon told the President that his friend held the documents of an Anglo-Federalist plot to dissolve the union, Madison was determined to obtain them at any price. The evidence would be just the thing, he thought, to stir up a desire for war and thoroughly discredit the Federalists before the presidential election. So often was Crillon "welcomed and entertained at the White House," wrote the French minister at Washington to his government, "that I thought I ought to receive him myself." He suspected Crillon to be an impostor but wisely kept silent when given the hint that the "Count's" business might make bad blood between the United States and England.

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[12] Dated December 31, 1811. Archiepiscopal Archives, Baltimore, Letters to Bishop Carroll.

[13] Facsimile in Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry,* 77; printed in the Boston *Columbian Centinel,* March 28, 1812. In the Henry Manuscripts, page 28, is a letter from John Marston (apparently the governor's secretary) to James Monroe, dated Boston, January 8, 1812, enclosing a letter from Gerry introducing Crillon to Monroe. It contains compliments to the "Count" and presents affectionate regards to "Captain Henry." Also, on page 29, is a letter from Gerry to Monroe, dated January 11, introducing "J. A. Henry Esq." Henry had probably become acquainted with Elbridge Gerry when living at Cambridge; it was a lucky break for him that Gerry was now governor of Massachusetts.

Late in January John Henry, after hearing from Crillon that the ground was prepared, proceeded to Washington with the documents. At Washington there began an amusing comedy with Crillon as the main operator, Henry holding the stakes, and Madison, Monroe, and Senator Richard Brent, of Virginia, as the suckers. The Secretary of State, who was given the job of procuring the papers, so overplayed his hand and evinced such eagerness to obtain them at his first interview with Henry on February first that the captain set his price at £25,000 sterling. The following day Monroe wrote to Crillon saying, "I have the utmost confidence in your honor as a soldier and as a gentleman, and in your generous and sincere zeal to make known to our government the full extent of the intrigues which have been carried on in this country by means of a certain secret mission."[14] He regretted, however, that the President had the disposal of only $50,000, the sum total of the secret service fund. Would Henry accept this amount and trust to Congress for the rest? By no means! Henry affected a towering rage and threatened to burn his papers rather than accept such a paltry offer. Crillon "persuaded" his friend to reduce his price to £18,000, but the difficulty remained of finding the extra £7,000 over and above the equivalent of $50,000. Crillon promised to do his best. "Laissés moi faire," he wrote to Monroe. "Il faut avoir cet homme par La voye de l'honneur, ou par celle de l'autorité"[15] A series of dramatic missives reached climax with a note dated Wednesday (February 5) at five o'clock in the morning. Crillon had "argued" with Henry all night, and the affair was concluded. The noble, disinterested "Count," rather than leave this detestable plot uncovered for lack of a paltry £7,000, had offered to make up the sum by presenting Captain Henry with his ancestral estate of St. Martial in Gascony.[16] Needless to say, "St. Martial" was a figment of the imagination, but according to Crillon the captain was delighted with the proposal and exclaimed, "My name will be rescued from oblivion by living near Crillon, the habitation of your ancestors, and of a man who has been my friend!"

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[14] Henry Manuscripts, page 31, a copy in Monroe's hand, not signed.

On February 7 an agreement was prepared. Henry was to hand over his documents to Monroe in return for $50,000 in gold, plus "St. Martial," a deed for which was drawn up by Crillon with all due ceremony. Monroe further promised to give Henry and his family free passage to France in a public vessel and not to disclose the papers until after they had sailed. The two rogues evidently thought it necessary to prolong the comedy a little further, for on Saturday morning, February 8, Crillon wrote to Monroe that Henry was dogged by British spies and could not be brought to sign the agreement. He, Crillon, was dining with Mr. Gallatin. This note is signed in true Gascon style:

> Till Death Crillon is inalterable.
> Edouard.[17]

Everything was arranged, however, on the following Monday, February 10, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, and the $50,000 was paid to Henry in two checks on contingent funds, which Henry promptly converted into gold.

Such was the strange transaction as set forth in the letters of the French minister to his government, in Crillon's own papers, and in the archives at Washington. One can admire the cleverness of Henry and

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[15] *Ibid.*, 88.

[16] Henry Manuscripts, page 92. He adds that in his quality as Knight of Malta he had already made Henry his *écuyer*! And on page 42 Henry signs himself John Adrien Henry, explaining to Monroe that upon becoming an *écuyer de Malte* he adopted, as was customary, one of the names of his commander. Apparently Adrien was one of the names used by Crillon.

[17] *Ibid.*, 87.

Crillon, but one still feels a sense of shame at the sorry rôles played by President Madison and Secretary Monroe. One hesitates whether to wonder more at their gullibility, for they bought the papers sight unseen and could undoubtedly have secured them at their own price—or at the lack of political morality in using $50,000—an enormous sum compared with the frugal federal budgets of that era—for party purposes. This amount, together with the bonus given to the Comte de Crillon, came to more than the entire cost of the sloop of war *Hornet* ($52,603); its modern equivalent would be the cost of the light cruiser *Honolulu* which was $14,484,000.

What other objects could Madison and Monroe have had in view than to arouse war passions and to discredit the Boston Federalists? That apparently was Henry's own idea of the transaction since, after it was completed, he wrote to Monroe from Baltimore on February 13, 1812, "With those papers, you have it in your power *at any time, or upon any emergency,* to extinguish every thing worth the name of opposition to the Government, if not subvert in its very principle, the spirit that gives it life and activity. Reserve them a short time for the promotion of some great object." The Federalists, he predicts, will "abandon you" if a declaration of war is sought. "Then and *not till then,* lay the papers before Congress."[18]

The Henry papers included no military or diplomatic secrets which could have been useful to the country in case of war. They consisted simply of Henry's copies of his letters to the governor of Canada, and of his correspondence with the British government when claiming his compensation—in all about forty octavo pages of print. They showed no evidence of any plot; there was nothing to incriminate anyone. After reading the papers, Madison and Monroe would have done well to hold them under cover, perhaps using a few details in order to keep the Federalists wondering what they had. John Taylor of Caroline observed that in laying the papers before Congress Madison was either wise or mad—wise if they were to be used, as Adams had used the XYZ papers, to prevent war; but "if to wind up the mob to make the war plunge, in my eyes, mad."[19]

[18] Henry Manuscripts, page 42; Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry,* 87–88. This was in reply to a rather naïve letter of Monroe, asking his opinion "as to the best mode of applying the documents to the best advantage for the public good."

[19] *J. P. Branch Historical Papers,* II. 333–335.

On March 7, 1812, armed with an American passport,[20] and accompanied by his two young daughters, who had been sent from Montreal to join him, Henry sailed for France in the sloop of war *Wasp*.[21] Two days later, President Madison transmitted his expensive acquisition to Congress. The papers were accompanied by a letter from Henry, dated February 20, purporting to be a gratuitous tender of the documents from motives of pure patriotism. This covering letter had been solicited from Henry by Monroe in order to conceal from the public the sordid aspects of the transaction.

The Henry papers were seized upon with joy by the majority in Congress and immediately given out to the Republican press, which unanimously declared that they proved a "detestable plot" between the British government and the Boston Federalists. The effect of the letters, when printed, was heightened by rows of asterisks which suggested that great names had been suppressed. Actually these represented unimportant passages which Henry, for reasons best known to himself, had struck out. They can be easily traced in the manuscript today, underneath the erasures; and somebody did that for Monroe at the time.

Henry, either by design or inadvertence, had named no names. Nothing could be pinned on his Federalist friends. Possibly that is why he sold no letters about his 1808 mission, in which he named, among other informants, Governor Tichenor of Vermont, Governor Gore of Massachusetts, and Harrison Gray Otis.[22] But he may simply have kept no copies of the 1808 letters. President Madison would certainly have welcomed the evidence of Federalist machinations bordering on sedition in a report that Henry made to Secretary Ryland after his first journey. It is dated April 11, 1808:

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[20] Henry's description of himself for the passport is in the Henry Manuscripts, page 35. He is described as J. A. Henry, aged 35, brown hair, hazel eyes, fair complexion, bald forehead, and height 5 feet 11¾ inches. Henry also carried a letter of introduction to Joel Barlow, American minister to Paris, which is in Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry*, 101. Monroe's letter of February 25 to Henry (*ibid.*, 108), enclosing this letter and the passport, states that Henry's daughters are also to have passage on the *Wasp*. Henry replied from New York, March 6 (*ibid.*, 111), enclosing the "Cypher" that he used for his correspondence on the 1809 mission, and more papers relating to it, and promising still more in case the country went to war, if "treated generously and delicately."

[21] This was the second *Wasp*, built in 1806 and commanded by Jacob Jones. Late in 1812 she was captured by H.M.S. *Poictiers*.

[22] Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry*, 32, 46, and 54.

> I attended a private meeting of several of the principal characters in Boston, where the question of *immediate* and *ultimate* necessity were discussed. In the first, all agreed that memorials from all the towns (beginning with Boston) should be immediately transmitted to the Administration, and a firm determination expressed that they will not co-operate in a war against England. I distributed several copies of a memorial to that effect in some of the towns in Vermont on my return. The measure of ultimate necessity which I suggested I found in Boston some unwillingness to consider. It was "that in case of a declaration of war the State of Massachusetts should treat separately for itself, and obtain from Great Britain a guaranty of its integrity." Although it was not deemed necessary to decide on a measure of this sort at this moment, it was considered as a very probable step in the last resort. In fine, every man whose opinion I could ascertain was opposed to a war, and attached to the cause of England.[23]

The question still arises, as it did at the time, whether the Boston Federalists whose views and sentiments Henry reported to Sir James Craig were cognizant of his character as an official emissary during his second and quasi-official mission of 1809. The administration naturally wished to be assured that they were so cognizant; they had to be, to prove a "plot." The impression that they were, was conveyed by the first document as printed. This was Sir James Craig's instructions and credentials, dated February 6, 1809, ordering Henry to "obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that part of the Union." On the supposition that the Federalists would probably attempt a separation, he was to ascertain:

> How far in such an event they would look up to England for assistance or be disposed to enter a connection with us. Although it would be highly inexpedient that you should in any manner appear an avowed agent, yet if you could contrive to obtain an intimacy with any of the leading party, it may not be improper that you should insinuate, though with great caution, that if they should wish to enter into communication with our government through me, you are authorized to receive any such and will safely transmit it to me; and as it may not be impossible that they should require some document by which they may be assured that you are really in the situation in which you represent yourself, I enclose a credential to be produced in that view; but I must particularly enjoin and direct that you do not make any use of this paper, unless a desire to that purpose should be expressed, and unless you see good ground for expecting that the doing so may lead to a more confidential communication than you can otherwise look for.[24]

[23] Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1890), IV. 246–247. Nobody knew anything definite about the 1808 mission until Adams discovered these letters in the Public Record Office. They are printed in full in Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry*.

[24] "Wait's State Papers," VIII. 41.

Now, in view of the fact that Governor Strong of Massachusetts did send an envoy to Canada in 1814 to discuss a separate peace,[25] one is tempted to assume that he got the idea because Henry presented the above credentials to leading Federalists in 1809. But the documents of the secret 1814 mission do not indicate any connection between the two, and Henry in his own reports to Sir James Craig declared that he had not used these credentials, or opened his official character to anyone in New England. In his Letter Number 6, dated March 5, 1809, he says:

> It does not yet appear necessary, that, I should discover to any person the purpose of my visit to Boston; nor is it probable, that, I shall be compelled for the sake of gaining more knowledge of the arrangements of the federal party in these States, to avow myself a regular authorized agent of the British government, even to those individuals who would feel equally bound with myself to preserve with the utmost inscrutability, so important a secret from the public eye. *I have sufficient means of information to enable me to judge of the proper period for offering the cooperation of Great Britain, and opening a correspondence between the Gov.-Gen. of B[ritish] America and those individuals who . . . should be qualified to act on behalf of the northern states.*[26]

Nor is there anything in his subsequent reports to indicate that he did anything more than talk and listen. The Boston Federalists certainly acted as though their consciences were clear of anything like "collaboration." Josiah Quincy, in a memorandum written apparently after the 1812 disclosures, noted that Henry came to Boston, "bringing letters of introduction to many families in the place,—among others to mine. He was received with the attention due to the respectability of the letters he brought, and regarded as a man passing idly through the world, seeking and entitled to no special interest or confidence. . . . His manners being gentlemanly and his letters of introduction good, he was admitted freely into society, and heard the conversation at private tables, but without any reference to him."[27] William Sullivan, also a Federalist, wrote many years later:

> There are many persons that remember John Henry, and that he was in Boston in 1809. But no one ever heard it suggested that he was a British agent. He

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[25] The documents on this mission are printed in the *American Historical Review*, XLIII (1938), 553–566. The name of the emissary is not disclosed, but from internal evidence I believe that he was Thomas Adams, representative to the General Court from Castine, Maine.

[26] "Wait's State Papers," VIII. 49; collated with Henry Manuscripts, page 4, Number 6.

[27] Edmund Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy* (Boston, 1867), 250–251.

was said to be engaged in some sort of land speculation; but very few knew or cared how he was employed. He was a handsome, well-behaved man, and was received in some respectable families.[28]

The secretary of the French legation in Washington in 1812 stated in his memoirs that were published in 1852 that he believed there had been collusion between Henry and the Federalists. When the letters were printed, he says, "Un des principaux coryphées du parti qualifié d'*Essex Junto* eut l'impudence de s'écrier: 'Je vous ai bien dit qu'il nous trahirait!' Il parait donc hors de doute que des rapports coupables avaient existé entre ce parti et Henry."[29] This may have been Washington gossip at the time, but it was not written until forty years after the event, and need not be taken very seriously.

At this distance nothing can be proved; but nothing has turned up in public or private papers to indicate that "culpable relations" between Henry and the Boston Federalists existed. Henry's erasure of names in the copies of his letters that he sold to the government was not significant, because none of the persons whose names he suppressed was in close relations with him. For instance, in his letter to Sir James Craig of February 14, 1809, he mentions enclosing a copy of a letter received from Martin Chittenden, member of Congress from Vermont; but in the copy of the letter of February 14 as sold to Monroe, Chittenden is called "a gentleman now of Washington." In the copies he sold he deleted two or three mentions of the "Junto," including a statement that in case of war the Essex Junto would apply to the Governor-General of British America for aid,[30] but no names of Junto members were mentioned. Nor did he include in his sale the descriptions of the Lake Champlain frontier and of the deployment of United States troops made in his original letters. But of course that intelligence of American forces was of no interest to the administration at Washington.

The only really important statement deleted in the Henry papers before being sold, formed a part of his memoir to Lord Liverpool asking for compensation. In the suppressed passages Henry declares (1) that he "made arrangements with the Governor of the State of Vermont on the frontier of Canada to declare that state neutral in the event of war, and as Captain General of the Militia to resist with the whole physical force of the state any attempt to make it a party in the war with the Canadas"; (2) that he helped organize, extend, and strengthen the Federal Party in New England with the object of forming a New England Confederation under the protection of Great Britain; and (3) that he was the author of many of the resolutions of New England legislative bodies and conventions denouncing Jefferson and the Embargo.[31] I believe that Henry deleted these passages from his papers before selling them, because he knew that such claims were preposterous and would not bear investigation; if published, they would have shown him up as an unqualified liar.[32]

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[28] William Sullivan, *The Public Men of the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1847), 330.

[29] Comte de Caraman, "Les Etats-Unis il y a quarante ans": *Revue Contemporaine,* III (1852), 209.

[30] *1893 Report of the Canadian Archives,* 27.

In conclusion, a comparison of the Henry papers as sold with the originals in the Canadian Archives indicates that, with the exception of these incredible claims, nothing significant was deleted.

Included in the Henry dossier now at the Library of Congress are three interesting papers, some of which may have formed a part of the sale.

1. An eight-page printed pamphlet, headed simply *Memoir*, without date or title page; a unique copy as far as I can ascertain. The author of this *Memoir* quotes the resolutions of the Massachusetts General Court exculpating Francis James Jackson, a British minister recently dismissed by Madison as *persona non grata*. The author hopes that the British will promptly reinforce their small garrison in Canada, so that when war breaks, his country may win an easy victory. He asserts that all "respectable" people in the United States, especially in New England, would in the event of war be glad to return to the British Empire; and he suggests that titles be conferred on leading New York families, such as the Livingstons and Clintons, who otherwise might be obstructive.[33]

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[31] Henry Manuscripts, pages 17 and 18. To the Right Honorable The Earl of Liverpool, a memorial of services; many lines scratched out, June 23, 1811. Page 19, Copy of Memorial to Lord Liverpool, June 13, 1811; answered by Robert Peel (page 21) on June 28, 1811.

[32] These erased passages in the Henry papers can easily be read with the aid of a glass. Someone did that for Monroe in 1812, and copied out the erased portions; it seems significant that the administration never used them.

[33] *Memoir*, 8 pages. Printed by John Doan, Wardour Street, Soho. The first words are, "Statesmen and Politicians in General. . . . " This unique copy is in the Henry Manuscripts, page 3. The date, November, 1811, appears on page 2, and on page 3 appears a query by the author, "Is it [public sentiment] the same in 1812?" This would indicate, though not

2. A manuscript memoir entitled, "Proposals for the Final Reunion of His Majesty's Dominions in North America with the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York. Governor Pownall's Opinion as given to the late Rt. Hon. George Grenville."

3. A manuscript memoir entitled, "Proposition for the More Effectual Annoyance of the American Coast."

For the following reasons I believe that these as well as the *Memoir* were later interpolated in the Henry Manuscripts: (a) A list of the manuscripts purchased from Henry, in Monroe's hand, originally on the cover of the manuscripts, but now bound as page 97, lists all the Henry papers but these. (b) None of the three is mentioned in the correspondence between Monroe and Henry, or in the Presidential communication to Congress, although the Pownall "Proposals" at least would have been more sensational and much better evidence of British designs on American union than anything Henry had to offer. (c) Internal evidence proves that the "Proposition" was composed after the outbreak of war in June, 1812.

When Madison and Monroe sprung the "Henry Plot" on the public, prominent Federalists at first were incredulous and inclined to regard the papers as forgeries—which was exactly the attitude the administration hoped they would take. Josiah Quincy, member of Congress for the Boston district, was wise enough to see that the documents were genuine, and clever enough to direct a vigorous probe of the affair that proved very embarrassing to the administration. By tracing the Treasury warrants, Quincy not only discovered the price paid to Henry, but the fact that the transaction was completed ten days before the date of Henry's published letter in which he pretended to donate them to the government out of pure, disinterested patriotism.[34] And Monroe was forced to admit that he possessed no names of persons implicated with Henry. Thus the Henry affair was shown up in something like its true aspect. The threats of nullification and secession which Henry reported were already patent to anyone who read Boston newspapers in 1809 or listened to Federalist speeches in Con-

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prove, it was printed after Henry sailed from England. I believe that Henry had something to do with this *Memoir;* may well have been the author of it; but that it did not get printed until after he sailed, and that this copy was picked up by some American in London (for there was nothing secret about it), sent to Monroe and put into the Henry dossier.

[34] Quincy, *Josiah Quincy,* 251.

gress; so, without names or specific evidence of collusion between New Englanders and Canadians toward an actual plan for neutrality or secession, there was nothing new or important in the Henry letters.

As may well be imagined, Federalist indignation was intense, especially in New England, and meetings were held in Boston and elsewhere to protest so indefensible a use of public funds. From the bitter newspaper and pamphlet controversy that followed, the Federalists emerged with flying colors. They succeeded in shifting the obloquy from their shoulders to Madison's.[35] As Josiah Quincy wrote, the honor of New England Federalism was unsmirched.[36] "An agent of great dexterity and skill is sent into the midst of the country, at a time of discontent and high excitement; and he found not only no individual whom he could corrupt, but not one whom he could venture to assail. An evidence more complete of the purity and integrity of a people was never perhaps given." This was going rather far, since the "purity" of the Boston Federalists obviously could not have been tested if they were never apprised of Henry's real character. Nevertheless, far from discrediting a party or arousing war fever, the Henry affair had no other effect than to embitter the New England Federalists at a time when every effort should have been made to unite the country. It is even likely that it partly accounts for the great increase in the Federalist vote in the spring elections of 1812, when Governor Gerry was defeated by Caleb Strong.

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[35] An eight-page pamphlet, *Facts Relative to John Henry and his Negotiations*, apparently by Quincy, is in our Pickering Papers, LXXXIV. 332. This includes data about Henry's movements, the price paid, his relations with the "Count," and a deposition or letter from Mr. Coale, of Baltimore, with whom Henry had stayed on January 14 and February 11–17, stating that Henry insisted that none of his letters incriminated anyone. There is a good deal of correspondence about the "plot" in the Pickering Papers, the best being a letter from Judge Peters, of Philadelphia, to Pickering, written March 18, 1812: "I have read the mighty Communications by the President, of Henry's *Espionage*. I think it a most pitiful electioneering Manoeuvre; and I am ashamed of my *old Friend's* Push for Popularity . . . I am mortified that our Family Feuds should give Cause of Suspicion to those who would, as all intriguing Politicians will, turn them to their Advantage. When a lady threatens her Spouse with a Breach of the Family Compact, or the Husband gives Hints of wandering, it is not surprising that *Gallants* tamper with the one, or *Demi-reps* throw out Lures for the other! I wanted no Proofs of the solid Principles of your Country. If any doubted, these Papers . . . would be irrefragable Evidence of the Folly and Wickedness of the Attempt. I wonder so thorough paced a Scoundrel had not assisted in staining some of you." Pickering Manuscripts: Massachusetts Historical Society, XXX. 28.

Naturally, the Republican press took a different point of view. The Boston *Independent Chronicle*, on March 23, 1812, came out with as near to scare headlines as the type of that day afforded:

50,000 Dollars!

The federal papers *affirm*, that Government have given HENRY 50,000 dollars for developing his secret. We do not know whether this be true or not. As yet there is no evidence of their having given him a cent. But if Henry had required

500,000 Dollars

for a secret like this, an acceptance of his proposal would have been *one of the cheapest bargains ever made.*

[36] To H. G. Otis, March 19, 1812. Harrison Gray Otis Manuscripts: Massachusetts Historical Society.

William Tudor, in his *Letters on the Eastern States*,[37] made the best contemporary estimate of this business:

> One of the most wretched and insignificant of all intriguers, worthily seconded by a base, foreign swindler, went to Washington, and there revealed certain portentous secrets to the president, while many an honest claimant was pining in delay of justice by a scrupulous treasury; while many an important fortress was without a gun for its defence, these glorious secrets were eagerly bought for fifty thousand dollars. . . . The impolicy was flagrant, that attempted to stigmatize with infamy all the leading men in a powerful section of the country, on the eve of a war, that demanded for its successful termination the whole energy of a united nation.

The administration was so disturbed at the way the affair had boomeranged, that Monroe wrote to Joel Barlow, American minister in Paris, begging him to obtain actual names from Henry in order to incriminate leading Federalists.[38] Barlow, before he received this letter, had replied in a way that must have made some faces in Washington turn red. Crillon was an impostor, Henry and he were still in cahoots; Henry was trying to get more money out the American minister. Barlow concluded by advising Monroe to drop the whole matter.[39] In the same mail or shortly after, Monroe received letters from Henry admitting that Crillon was an impostor, and enclosing evidence of his having tried to swindle the Banque de France. Henry complained that Barlow had not treated him properly, and that he was "persecuted by the impotent rage of the creatures who call themselves Americans in Paris." Furthermore, Henry wanted an appointment as American consul in compensation for the loss of "St. Martial" and for six thousand dollars lent to the bogus count.[40]

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[37] William Tudor, *Letters on the Eastern States* (New York, 1820), 35.

[38] Monroe's copy, undated, in Henry Manuscripts, page 96.

[39] Barlow to Monroe (decoded) April 14 and 17, 1812, Henry Manuscripts, pages 71, 72, and 76. Barlow added that he had known Henry in Vermont in 1806. There are also copies of this correspondence in the Barlow Manuscripts: Harvard College Library.

[40] Henry to Monroe, Paris, April 14, with enclosures, and May 25, 1812: Henry Manuscripts, pages 73, 74, and 75.

Monroe's letter to Barlow, begging him to get some Federalist names out of Henry, finally reached the minister at Vilna, whither he had pursued Napoleon to obtain action on certain American claims. From Vilna he wrote on November 23, 1812, assuring the Secretary that he would "see to the affair Henry" as soon as he returned to Paris. But Barlow was on his last journey. The Polish winter finished him off, and his body still lies in a village graveyard near Warsaw.

Except for a trip to Philadelphia, where apparently he endeavored to get a job from Count Pahlen, the former Russian minister to the United States, the "Count" stayed on in Washington after Henry's departure. If ever there was a double-crosser, it was this fellow; right through the negotiations at Washington, he was writing to influential people in the French government, warning them to arrest Henry as an English agent when he reached France, and promoting his own claims to imperial favor.[41] In the meantime he stayed at O'Neale's, the most fashionable boarding house in the capital, where Madame Jérôme Bonaparte (Betsy Patterson) was a distinguished guest. Hoping to increase his social prestige by appearing as a friend to Madame Bonaparte, the "Count" overwhelmed her with such pressing attentions that she, fearing he might be an agent sent by Napoleon to kidnap her son, fled from the city. Richard A. Derby, of Salem, another guest of the house, who ventured to remonstrate with the "Count," for his conduct, in return was called a "tailor" and a "shoeblack" by Crillon before the whole company, and his life threatened. Derby was so alarmed at these threats that he retired to bed fully armed. In the small hours of the morning the establishment was aroused by loud explosions from the direction of his chamber; Derby had dreamed that the "Count" was attacking him and fired off both pistols in the dark. He then issued a ferocious letter of challenge, which the "Count" ignored.

"The ludicrous adventure of R. D——y engrossed all the conversation of the day," wrote Harriet Otis in her diary. "Count Crillon comes off with flying colours. I much doubt if he deserves his triumph —some agent of the Emperor's most likely."[42]

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[41] *American Historical Review*, I. 66; to Siéyès, February 5, and to Savary, February 10, 1812.

[42] Harrison Gray Otis Manuscripts. Derby was apparently an easy mark; the *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, Charles R. King, Editor, (New York, 1894–1900), VI. 65, tells

A full account of this episode at O'Neale's (where, it will be remembered, the fair Peggy, then aged sixteen, was daughter of the house), is contained in an amusing letter from Catherine Mitchell, later the wife of Senator Samuel Latham, of New York, to her sister, Mrs. Silvanus Miller.[43] There also exists a bawdy ballad on the affair, mentioning O'Neale's fair and famous sixteen-year-old daughter Peggy, of which unfortunately I have been unable to obtain a copy.[44] Miss Mitchell's letter follows:

> Feeling just now in a story-telling humour, I must relate to you another quixotic adventure, which happened in this Metropolis a few days ago. You have often heard of Mrs. and Mr. Darby of Boston. This Lady you know, has been much admired for her beauty, accomplishments, and engaging manners; but it is well understood that her Husband altho a great gallant and man of fashion, is weak and vain. He however, borrows lustre from his Wife, and when she travels with him, he is more respected, and behaves with more propriety than when he goes alone. Last winter they were both here for a short time. Mr. D. lately made another visit to the seat of government, but his better half did not accompany him. He took lodgings at the court end of the town, at Mr. O'Neale's, where Madame Bonaparte, Miss Spear, the Vice president, and several other great personages boarded. He soon became the constant attendant and humble admirer, of little Bonaparte. He accompanied her to the drawing-room, made chocolate for her, and charmed her from morn till night with the melodious and exquisite tones of his flute, and voice.
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> This was his enviable situation when Count Crillon, a Spanish Nobleman, arrived at Washington and became an inhabitant in the same house with Mr. Darby. I dined in company with Count C. at the Presidents, soon after he came here. He had the appearance of a foreigner, and spoke our language tolerable well. As far as I had an opportunity of judging, I considered him a polite well informed gentleman. But in consequence of some dispute which arose between Count C. and Mr. Willink, another foreigner who boarded in the house with him, and who asserted that the former was an imposter, and not the nobleman he pretended to be, suspicions began to be entertained by the other gentlemen of the family, that Willink was correct in his assertions, and that it would be necessary

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of a hoax played on him in 1816, causing him to believe that he was to be appointed minister to Great Britain.

[43] When the copy of this was communicated to me, some thirty-five years ago, it was owned by Mrs. Margaret Miller, of Deerfield, Massachusetts.

[44] I saw this in 1912 when it was owned by Justice Alexander B. Hagner, of Washington, D. C. He refused to let me copy it, as too "free." When I asked again in 1914, the justice—then over ninety years old—consulted Senator Lodge, who urged him to let me have it; but before I visited Washington again Justice Hagner had died, and I have not succeeded in recovering the ballad from his heirs. As recently as April, 1953, I was allowed to go through the papers of Justice Hagner and his father, Peter Hagner, who originally possessed the ballad, in search of it, but without success.

for the Count to clear away all doubts respecting his character, before he could reinstate himself in their good opinion. I was informed that a challenge had been sent by Count C. to Mr. W., but the latter refused to fight, untill the former should prove himself worthy to be shot at, by establishing his countship; and report says that he has now put his accuser to shame, and convinced the doubtful that he is a man of honour and veracity.

Now comes on the cream of my story. Mr. Darby showed a very meddlesome disposition in this business. Instead of suffering the two Champions to settle their quarrel between themselves, as they thought proper, he interfered and took a part in it. He wrote two or three impertinent anonymous notes to Count C. who conjecturing Darby to be the author treated him with the utmost contempt. They met on the 22d February at the birth night ball, in Georgetown, and the Count took this opportunity to show publicly how little he regarded D. or his notes; for he used the most insulting language to him and tis said even spit, and trod upon his toes. Poor Darby bore it all with silent submission, for he began to discover that he had got into a confounded scrape, from which he did not know how to extricate himself. He returned to his lodgings, and I presume from what followed, passed a sleepless night; for in the morning just after daylight the family were aroused from their slumbers by the report of a pistol, and a voice exclaiming, *help gentlemen! for gods sake help!* Madame B. jumped out of her bed very much terrified, ran to the window which opened into the street, raised the sash, and bawled out murder, murder, with all her lungs would permit. Some boys happening to be in the street at that early hour, joined their voices to hers, and were soon under the window trying to get in the house, but could not succeed. Mr. Chevallie whose bed chamber was immediately below Mrs. B's hearing an uncommon noise hurried out of bed, sliped on his great coat and ran up stairs to learn what had caused this sudden alarm. He found beau Darby, standing in the middle of Mr. Somervilles room, (which was opposite to his own) half dressed and apparently in great agitation, rapidly repeating the words, *thank God I am safe!* Mr. Somerville *in his shirt tail,* was looking on in astonishment, and O'Neale the Landlord, in another corner of the room was casting looks of anger at the author of all this disturbance, and calling out with vehemence, *you Darby of Boston get out of my house.* This was such a farcical scene that Mr. C. could not refrain from laughing whilst he enquired the meaning of it. As soon as Mr. D. had recovered sufficient composure, after his hair-breadth escape, he assured the Gentlemen that Count C. had been attempting to get into his room in order to assassinate him, and that he had seized his Pistol and fired at the door which he believed had caused him to fly. The ball had gone through the door and hit against the wall on the opposite side of the entry where it had fallen to the floor. They all assured him that he was mistaken, that the Count could not have intended any such thing. But he insisted on it, and Mr. Chevallie believing it all a dream, and in order to restore him to his senses again, went in search of this wicked nobleman, who was found snug in his bed, in a part of the house very remote from the scene of action, where he had been locked up all night, entirely unconscious of what had happened; his servant having by mistake locked his door on the outside when his master went to bed; so if he had intended murder that night, he could not have got out of his room to perpetrate the deed. It is now well known that this was only a vile strategem to get C. Crillon turned out of the house as a dangerous person, for after what passed at the ball, Darby had no reason to wish him under the same roof; and he no doubt, thought he would gain some credit, as a man of courage, for defending himself so bravely. Unluckily for him his plan did not succeed according to his expectations. No one would believe his story, and the consternation he had excited, gave way to indignation for the meanness of this artifice. Finding that every one laughed at his folly, he concluded it was best to decamp before more trouble came upon him, and accordingly in a day or two after, he took his departure from Washington, some of his friends advising him never to come again without his wife. These are some of the anecdotes circulating in this famous City. . . .

The "Count," who had been seen in Henry's company, was examined during the Congressional investigation. But he gave out an ingenious story about Henry being a mere shipboard acquaintance, and denied any connection with the transaction. Out of gratitude for this evasion, or possibly as compensation for his "noble sacrifice of St. Martial," Monroe gave the "Count" a draft for five thousand dollars on Joel Barlow, to be cashed when he reached Paris. The Gascon wrote the Secretary of State, his dupe and benefactor, an affectionate farewell on April 1, 1812, and had the nerve to give his address as "à Madame la Duchesse de Crillon, au Château de Crillon, près Poitiers, pour remettre au Colonel de Hussards, Edouard de Crillon."[45]

In early April the alleged Colonel of Hussars left Washington for New York, where he put in over six weeks to very good purpose. He wormed his way into the confidence of the French consul there, who supplied him with bills of exchange on Paris to the amount of seventy thousand francs. This sum apparently represented his "cut" of the $50,000 paid to Henry, together with some unrecorded swindlings in New York. Armed with this good provender, in addition to Monroe's draft of five thousand dollars on Joel Barlow in his favor, "Crillon" set sail from New York on May 28, 1812. The ship landed him at Santander, in Spain, whence he made his way to Bayonne. There he was promptly arrested for impersonating the real Comte de Crillon, and for various other things that Napoleon's police had against him.

It was shortly after this that John Henry turned up at the American legation in Paris, complained that he had been imposed on by his confederate in respect to "St. Martial," and demanded more money from Barlow. Fortunately, the American minister refused to bite. He was mistaken, however, in believing that Henry and the "Count" were still in cahoots. Henry had from the start believed everything that his friend told him. He felt righteously indignant at being done out of the noble estate in France, as well as for being given a bogus check on the Banque de France in return for a loan.

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[45] Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry*, 141.

The Gascon either escaped from jail, or was let out, by the end of the year 1812. He made his way to Gibraltar, and by passing himself off as a person of distinction, obtained passage on a British storeship to London. After swindling sundry English tradesmen out of several hundred pounds, he was arrested; and, after the defeat of Napoleon, was deported to France as an undesirable alien.[46] He tried to beg money from Henry without success. We hear of "Soubiran, alias Comte de Crillon, alias Major Johnstone," for the last time in 1816 when he received further attentions from the French police, and his private documents were seized.

Henry, shortly after his arrival in France, dropped out of sight for about two years. In July, 1814, he was in Paris. Later that year he was reported in certain Federalist newspapers as having written to John Quincy Adams in Europe enclosing a letter of introduction from President Madison.[47] There is no record of this in the Adams diary or papers, but it may well be that Henry was seeking a job with the Ghent peace commission. If so, he did not get it. Next, we find Henry returning to his English allegiance; for in 1820 he accepted a despicable mission to collect evidence in Italy of misconduct on the part of Queen Caroline, whom George IV wished to divorce. "After this episode," says the *Dictionary of American Biography*, "he disappears from view." Not entirely!

My investigations disclosed the curious fact that Henry remained a lifelong friend of one of the Boston families whose hospitality he had received, and that this friendship continued between the two families for over a century.

The clue was furnished by the "H.C.," whom Harriet Otis, in her diary entry quoted at the head of this article, declared to have been Henry's particular friend. "H.C." suggested Henry Cary; and a reference to a privately printed *Cary Letters, Edited at the Request of the Family by C. G. C.* (Cambridge, 1891) proves that it was indeed he. The friendship between the two families dated from 1805. There are many references to Henry in this book, but no indication of his character other than the discreet statement (page 183) that when he "decided to live in France," his daughters, too, remained there and never returned to the United States. Mrs. Henry, it seems, died about 1805.

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[46] Cruikshank, *Political Adventures of John Henry*, 189, quoting the Quebec *Gazette* and other sources.

[47] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 21, 1814, quoting the *Alexandria Gazette* of November 15.

One daughter married an Englishman named Grenville, and died fairly young without issue. The other, Elizabeth Blois (born 1802), married Colonel de Chanal, an officer of the French Army under Louis XVIII, and lived until 1890. The *Cary Letters* led me to Henry Cary's grandnephew, the late Charles Pelham Curtis, of Boston. From him I ascertained that when Henry Cary, of Boston, died in 1857 he left an annuity of five hundred dollars to the Chanals' daughter Beatrice, who had married the Baron Neukirch de Nyvenheim, and was still living. In Cary's will he describes the object of this benevolence as "Beatrice, daughter of M. and Mme. de Chanal of Rennes in France, and granddaughter of my once friend Colonel John Henry." No light is thrown on the origin of this faithful and unbreakable friendship, which dates from at least as early as 1805. But, in the Chanal correspondence saved by Mr. Curtis, there is a paper indicating that when Henry Cary went bankrupt at the time of Jefferson's embargo, John Henry was one of his creditors, and did not press him for the debt. Possibly it was the memory of that kindness to him in a tight spot which impelled Cary, almost half a century later, to found an annuity which lasted another sixty years.

An unpublished part of the memoirs of Mrs. Charles Pelham Curtis, communicated to me by her grandson, Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr., describes visits of the Curtises to the Chanals at their Château de Sedières, near Rennes, in 1857 and again in 1867 and 1875.[48] The colonel in the course of time was promoted and became chief of staff to the commanding general of Napoleon III's artillery. In that capacity, he visited the United States during the Civil War to report on the Union artillery, and during his visit stayed with the Curtises at Cambridge. General de Chanal fought in the War of 1870; his wife and daughter were in Paris during the siege.

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[48] *Memories of Fifty Years written by Caroline Gardiner Curtis* (Boston, privately printed, 1947). Mr. Curtis also allowed me to go through a sheaf of letters from Madame de Chanal to Mrs. Thomas G. Cary and other Carys and Curtises. They show a very warm intimacy and affection between the two families. One letter of Madame de Chanal, undated, but evidently written about May, 1861, is worth quoting: "My mind is filled with the affairs in America. . . M. de C. is furious against the Southerns he thinks that they will beat the north at first but that later the north will have the victory. What a savage act has been committed at Baltimore, I am so sorry, it is so shameful for America. All the royalists triumph,

I made a point of looking up the Chanals' daughter Beatrice, the Baronne de Nyvenheim, when visiting Paris in 1913. After the usual exchange of notes and compliments, I waited on the baronne at her apartment in the rue du Faubourg St. Honoré on April 24, and found her to be a gracious lady of some fourscore years. Her salon was full of furniture and bibelots of the two Napoleonic empires. After questions and answers on the weather, and the health of the Curtis family, I cautiously inquired of the baronne whether she had any letters of her grandfather John Henry? She had not; but a miniature of him stood on one of her tables. It was one of those third-rate French miniature portraits that might have represented any handsome young man in the costume of the First Empire. I asked whether she knew that her grandfather had been an intimate of Presidents Madison and Monroe and other great Americans? She replied that she did not, she never knew he had been interested in politics; nor did the name of the Comte de Crillon ring a bell. So I did not pursue that part of John Henry's career any further. I asked how long he lived, and where; she replied that he lived in Paris like a gentleman of fortune until his death in 1853; his income, she believed, coming from estates in Ireland; and that he always cultivated the best society. I asked if he had ever become a French citizen. That she did not know for certain; she believed that his loyalty to England was so deep that he never renounced his British nationality, although he loved France. Finally, I asked why "Colonel" Henry, as she called her grandfather, had never returned to the country where he had so many warm friends? To which she replied, in all simplicity, "The Colonel always said that the climate of America did not agree with him."[49]

it is a proof for them that no republic can last long and the republicans are terribly vexed that the example of America that they have always held up should turn against them, for the opinion is that the result of the war will be the final destruction of the republic, and that a victorious General will take advantage of his power to become King."

[49] Madame de Nyvenheim died January 15, 1917; the last balance of the payment of the annuity established in 1857 was paid by Charles Pelham Curtis to her daughter, Madame Marcel Benoit, on January 9, 1930.

Yet, the name of "John Henry the British Spy" continued to figure in American political campaigns as long as the Republicans needed weapons against the Federalists, or the Democrats against the Whigs. Harrison Gray Otis, when he ran for governor of Massachusetts in 1823, was charged among other things with having invited Henry for dinner; and if Henry's 1808 letters may be believed, the charge was true. John Quincy Adams was firmly convinced that the Henry business formed an authentic part of the Pickering-Burr secession plot that culminated in the Hartford Convention; and Henry Adams did not question his grandfather's theory, although he despised Monroe for being duped by the colonel and the count. Indeed, the name of John Henry may occasionally be met with in the Chicago *Tribune,* where the respectable commonwealths of New England are still referred to in editorials as the "Hartford Convention States."

The Creative Period in the Law of Massachusetts

MARK DEWOLFE HOWE[1]

IT has been the natural habit of biographers of Mr. Justice Holmes to emphasize the intellectual influence which his distinguished father had upon him. One does not deny that influence in suggesting that other strands of inheritance went to make up his mind and temperament. Consideration of those other strands will perhaps increase an understanding of his qualities. It may, in any case, add some perspective to our understanding of American history if we examine certain aspects of the legal history of Massachusetts which were living traditions when Holmes came to the bar in 1867 and as such were a part of the atmosphere in which he led his professional life.

Dr. Holmes sadly doubted whether he could ever get "the iron of Calvinism" out of his soul, but he was thankful for himself, and one suspects was grateful on his children's account, that his wife was bred "by a gentle-hearted father to whom all such ideas were simply shocking."[2] The Calvinism in the Holmes inheritance was so stubbornly impervious to the "organic heresy" running in the Dutch blood of his Wendell mother that it prevented Dr. Holmes from reading novels before sundown on the Sabbath.[3] When, however, the heretical strain was reinforced in the doctor's son by the humane tradition in which his mother had been brought up, there was promise that the iron age in the development of New England character was passing. The ways of life with which Amelia Jackson was familiar when she married Dr. Holmes in 1840 were certainly those of New England. They were not, however, the same New England ways in which Dr. Holmes had been nurtured in the Calvinist household of his father, the Reverend Abiel Holmes. There the aspirations had been principally for piety and learning. In the household of Charles Jackson, Amelia's father, the rewards of this world seemed more important than the punishments of the next and the energies through which nations, cities, and fortunes were to be made were both admired and exercised.

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[1] This paper was read at the January, 1949, meeting.

[2] John Torrey Morse, Jr., *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Boston, 1897), II. 246. Dr. Holmes and his wife had a common great-grandfather in Edward Jackson, who married Dorothy Quincy.

[3] *Ibid.*, 230.

The realities of inheritance are likely to be distorted if the qualities and achievements of a single ancestor are treated as peculiarly significant to one of his descendants. The career of that ancestor, however, as it expresses significant features of his age, may bespeak the persistent traditions not only of a family, but of a community as well. In that sense one may consider that the professional life of Mr. Justice Jackson has a special bearing upon the career of Mr. Justice Holmes. It is of more than coincidental interest that grandfather and grandson sat upon the same court.[4] The fact of significance is that Holmes, through his personal affiliation with the most critical period in the growth of American law, was in a sense made heir to the oldest traditions and continuing problems of the common law. Certainly the meaning of those traditions and the seriousness of those problems had a special vividness to one whose grandfather had studied with Theophilus Parsons, had been friend of Joseph Story, and had sat on the bench in Doctors' Commons with Lord Stowell. Jackson's capacities and convictions seem, furthermore, to have been eminently characteristic of the ascendant qualities of the civilization in which he lived—qualities which were so persistently effective that they largely determined the character of the New England world in which his grandson was to come to professional and personal maturity.

Charles Jackson was born in Newburyport in 1775, and died in 1855 when Holmes was a boy of thirteen. After a notably active and successful career at the Boston bar, he served as associate justice on the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts from 1813 to 1823. At the time of his appointment to the court Theophilus Parsons was chief justice, and it was under Parsons, in whose Newburyport office John Quincy Adams had been trained for the bar, that Jackson had studied law. Parsons, the preëminent leader of the profession at the turn of the century, had predicted that Jackson would "prove himself the American Blackstone."[5] If that prediction was not realized, Jackson's career showed him to be a man of forceful talents. The mixture of qualities which made him what he was is suggested in the accompanying "Scale of Legal Talents" prepared by an unidentified contemporary, in which the capacities of the principal members of the Boston bar in the early years of the century are mathematically rated. If Jackson was nearly as deficient in classical and political knowledge as he was in wit, his professional practice was estimated as unexcelled, and his legal knowledge was unequaled at the bar. As a boy, it is said, his integrity was so well developed that when Washington visited the Jackson family in Newburyport, young Charles informed the visitor that "You have to speak the truth in this house."[6] Whether this was a warning or merely a descriptive account of family habit we are not told. The early promise seems to have been fulfilled in his maturity, for his integrity was measured as complete.

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[4] It has been said that the justice's wife considered that the career and character of Mr. Justice Jackson had an appreciable influence on her husband. (Conversation with Mr. Justice Frankfurter.)

[5] *Law Reporter*, XVIII (1856), 607.

Jackson's opinions as justice show him to have been learned in the British and American antiquities of the law, sensitive to the currents of European thought, and responsive to the demands of formative justice in a new nation. In another person or in other times, learning equivalent to his might easily have blended with conservative instincts to produce a frosted enthusiasm for static law. Had his qualities of mind and temperament been slightly different he might well have contested Chancellor Kent's claim to the title which Parsons had predicted would be Jackson's. Whether Jackson ever seriously considered the publication of commentaries comparable to those of Sir William Blackstone we do not know, but there is reason to doubt whether he had either the passion for preservation which inspired Kent, or the capacity for constructive generalization which distinguished Story. In 1828, after his retirement from the court for reasons of health, Jackson's erudition produced his treatise on *Real Actions*, in which he proved himself to be an enthusiastic master of the logic of special pleadings and of the intricacies of such ancient writs as those of ayel and besayel and of entry on disseisin in the *quibus*, in the *per*, in the *per* and *cui*, and in the *post*. There were lawyers who considered that this indulgence of an ingenious capacity for the logic of special pleading contributed little of concern to Massachusetts practitioners. Jackson, however, defended himself by reiterating his conviction "that the system of real actions established by the common law needed only to be known, to be

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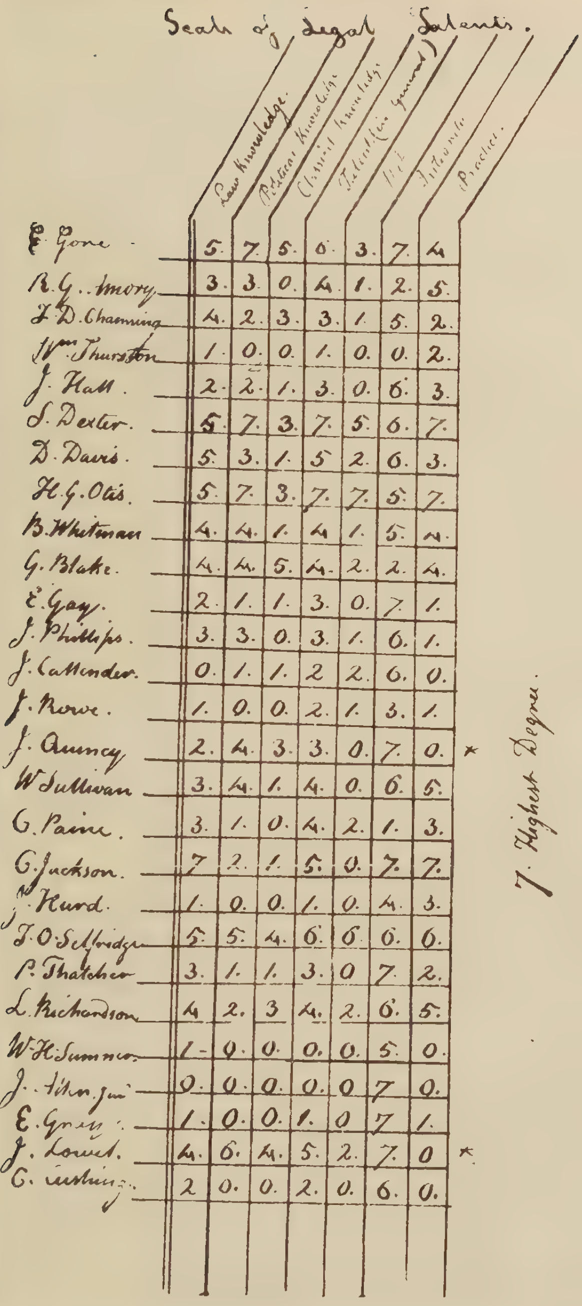
[6] James Jackson Putnam, *Memoir of Dr. James Jackson* (Boston, 1905), 98.



Scale of Legal Talents.

	Law Knowledge.	Political Knowledge	Classical knowledge	Talents (in general)	Wit	Oratory	Practice.	
C. Gore	5.	7.	5.	0.	3.	7.	4	
R. G. Amory	3.	3.	0.	4.	1.	2.	5.	
F. D. Channing	4.	2.	3.	3.	1.	5.	2.	
Wm Thurston	1.	0.	0.	1.	0.	0.	2.	
J. Hall.	2.	2.	1.	3.	0.	6.	3.	
S. Dexter.	5.	7.	3.	7.	5.	6.	7.	
D. Davis.	5.	3.	1.	5	2.	6.	3.	
H. G. Otis.	5.	7.	3.	7.	7.	5.	7.	
B. Whitman	4.	4.	1.	4	1.	5.	4.	
G. Blake.	4.	4.	5.	4.	2.	2.	4.	
E. Gay.	2.	1.	1.	3.	0.	7	1.	
J. Phillips.	3.	3.	0.	3.	1.	6.	1.	
J. Callender.	0.	1.	1.	2	2.	6.	0.	
J. Rowe.	1.	0.	0.	2.	1.	3.	1.	
J. Quincy	2.	4.	3.	3.	0.	7.	0.	*
W Sullivan	3.	4.	1.	4.	0.	6.	5.	
C. Paine.	3.	1.	0.	4.	2.	1.	3.	
C. Jackson.	7	2.	1.	5.	0.	7.	7.	
Jn Hurd.	1.	0.	0.	1.	0.	4.	3.	
T. O. Selfridge	5.	5.	4.	6.	6	6.	6.	
P. Thatcher	3.	1.	1.	3.	0	7.	2.	
L. Richardson	4	2.	3	4.	2.	6.	5.	
W. H. Sumner.	1-	0.	0.	0.	0.	5.	0.	
J. Allen jun	0.	0.	0.	0.	0	7	0.	
E. Gray.	1.	0.	0.	1.	0	7	1.	
J. Lowell.	4.	6.	4.	5.	2.	7.	0	*
C. Cushing.	2	0.	0.	2.	0.	6.	0.	

7. Highest Degree.

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universally approved,"[7] and regretted the charge that he was too much concerned with technical nicety. Such criticism tends "to excite among the younger members of the profession an unfounded and unjust prejudice against this branch of our law" which "is distinguished no less by its completeness as a whole, than by the symmetry of all its parts."[8] The interest which inspired the production of the treatise seems, however, to have been more that of the antiquarian than of the reactionary. In 1836 Jackson's hospitality to change led him, the master of learning on the common-law real actions, to recommend to the legislature their total abolition.[9] It is good evidence of a distinterested nature when the expert favors, however reluctantly, the destruction of the subject matter in which his *expertise* has been most notably developed.

The qualities of Jackson which today seem most significant were, in large measure, the qualities of his time, his place, and his class. Those qualities had given a peculiar direction to New England's federalism. The Essex Junto, of which Charles Jackson's father, Jonathan, and his uncle, Nathaniel Tracy, were active members, spoke for the men of means who had wanted a national government strong enough to protect American property and American ambition, but who were unwilling to accept such a government when it gave no preference to New England's property and New England's ambition. They had accordingly dreamed of conspiracy and toyed with the hope of secession. During many of the years of Charles Jackson's active life at the bar and on the bench the issue between state and nation was a living reality, and in that period it seems clear that his political loyalty was principally to New England's special brand of federalism. After the defeat of that federalism the loyalty of New England sons to the memory of their fathers' faith persisted. But, for their peace of mind, the sons were compelled to mold the memory to suit the new alignment of political forces, and to deny that their fathers had sought and encouraged disunion. When John Quincy Adams, in 1828, charged the early leaders of New England's federalism with a virtually traitorous disloyalty to the nation, Jackson, with other first sons of the

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[7] *American Jurist*, II. 77.

[8] *Ibid.*, II. 79, 78.

[9] *Report of the Commissioners . . . to Revise the General Statutes of the Commonwealth*, Part III (Boston, 1834), 154.

"prigarchy,"[10] came indignantly to the defense of those who had controlled the Hartford Convention and had done everything within their power to obstruct the successful prosecution of the War of 1812.[11] It is significant that instead of pleading in confession and avoidance of old errors they sought to deny the undeniable facts of history. In choosing this course they tacitly acknowledged that the destinies of Massachusetts must be those of the United States and that New England must cast its lot with the nation. This did not mean, of course, that Jackson and his associates in protest had become Jeffersonian Republicans. They remained ardent conservatives in economic and political matters. Jackson was so much of that persuasion that John Quincy Adams expressed a general distrust of Jackson's motives, charging him with resisting change because change was desired by the people,[12] and suggesting that the judge's investments in the Lowell cotton mills established by his brother led him to care "not a peppercorn for the interest of the whole people."[13] Probably allowance should be made for the irascibility of Adams's judgment, but there is every reason to suppose that Jackson's faith was set by inheritance and association in the mold of conservative tradition. It is well to remember, however, that the spokesmen of that tradition, conservative though they may have been in certain of their articles of political faith—particularly in those which concerned the distribution of political and economic power among the classes of American society—did not close the shutters of their minds against all the fresh winds of America. Jackson shared with other New England Federalists an energy of temperament which made its imprisonment by dogmatic convention impossible. That he was entirely willing, in 1820, to see the law of libel so formulated as to give greater play to free speech than English precedent would permit,[14] and that he opposed compulsory attendance at churches where, as he said, the preacher was too frequently "a wholesale dealer in doctrines and in little else,"[15] are creditable indications of a personal belief in tolerance. Such relatively progressive beliefs, however, were not uncommon among the Federalists of the day.

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[10] The label was a favorite of Nathaniel Ames, brother of the redoubtable Federalist ally of Jonathan Jackson, Fisher Ames: Charles Warren, *The Essex Junto* (Cambridge, 1931), 7.

[11] The defense of the Federalists, signed by Jackson and twelve others, is in Henry Adams, *Documents Relating to New England Federalism* (Boston, 1877), 43–45.

[12] Charles Francis Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), VIII. 395–397. The occasion of this charge was Jackson's opposition to abolition of the Phi Beta Kappa rule of secrecy. In view of Jackson's evidently enthusiastic membership in the Masons, Adams's interpretation of Jackson's motive in liking secret ceremonials seems less than adequate. See Charles Jackson, *An Oration Delivered . . . in Newburyport . . . June 25, 5798 [1798]* (Newburyport, 5798 [1798]).

[13] Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* XI. 227–228.

At the bar and on the bench of the supreme judicial court, Jackson was inevitably involved in the issues of international and domestic policy with which the American courts were so persistently concerned in the first quarter of the century. While our law was still in its formative stage, when earlier American decisions were unreported and neither habit nor precedent had determined the extent to which particular decisions of the English courts were to be taken as conclusive, the legislative responsibility of lawyers and judges for establishing a rule of law was far more apparent than it was in later years. It was as clear to laymen as it was to lawyers that the nature of American institutions, whether economic, social, or political, was largely to be determined by the judges. In such a period questions of private law were seen and considered as questions of public policy. When Jackson at the bar successfully argued that the determination of a British Court of Vice-Admiralty that an American vessel had violated a British blockade was conclusive on the Massachusetts court,[16] he realized, as the court did, that as a result of the decision the underwriting interests would be preferred over the shipping interests. That in itself would substantially affect the course of American economic development. At a time when the underwriting interests by which American vessels were insured were principally British the international consequences of the decision were, of course, considerable. Realization that issues of such seriousness were to be reached by courts meant that all men concerned in the judicial process, either as lawyers or as judges, saw their office as public and their responsibility as political. As a practitioner whose principal cases in the state and federal courts concerned maritime matters, Jackson's chief concern was with issues not simply of great importance to the economic future of Massachusetts, but to the international relationships of the United States as well.

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[14] *Journal of Debates . . . in the Convention . . . to Revise the Constitution of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1821), 243.

[15] Putnam, *Memoir of Dr. James Jackson*, 108–109.

[16] *Baxter v. New England Marine Insurance Company*, 6 Mass. 277 (1810).

On the Massachusetts court which in 1812 had advised the governor that it was for him and not for the President of the United States to determine whether the exigency of an invasion required the calling forth of the state militia,[17] Jackson was associated with judges who saw themselves not only as citizens but as nationals of Massachusetts affiliated by a somewhat tenuous adoption with the government of the United States. Parsons, in accepting the office of chief justice on the Massachusetts court, had spoken of the commonwealth as "our country,"[18] and in doing so expressed a point of view which greatly influenced the attitude of judges and lawyers toward their professional responsibility. In 1816, Jackson, for the court, took pleasure in holding that Massachusetts was free to decide questions of international law as she saw fit, without regard to determinations of the Supreme Court of the United States sitting in Admiralty.[19] Disregarding a contrary decision of the Supreme Court of the United States,[20] he held that a contract to secure a British license for the shipment of goods to Lisbon during the War of 1812 was legal and enforceable in the courts of Massachusetts. If this opinion reflects an attitude of mind towards the relationships of state and national governments in international affairs characteristic of the time and place in which it was delivered, it is no less significant of a developing point of view towards the relationships between the individual and government. The individual's right of contract, even in wartime, must not be unreasonably curtailed; though certain phases of commercial intercourse with the enemy may be prohibited, the area of prohibition should be as small as possible. Mr. Justice Washington of the Supreme Court of the United States expressed what would clearly be today's orthodox opinion when he said that in wartime "a man cannot separate himself from the common character of his own country,"[21] but Jackson's small regard for the foreign policy of the national government when it followed a course which he considered to be inconsistent with the interests of Massachusetts led him to treat his state as his nation, and left him free to say that the citizen of Massachusetts lived under a benign government which gave him freedom to contract with an enemy of the United States. Two years after this decision, Jackson's holding was vigorously repudiated by the Supreme Court of the United States.[22] With collapse of the localized faith by which it was prompted, the particular point decided by Jackson ceased, even in Massachusetts, to have substantial effect, though at the time of the Civil War its emphasis on the contract rights of individuals in wartime was approved in Massachusetts,[23] with Holmes, as editor of Kent's *Commentaries*, a few years later giving new currency to his grandfather's faith.[24] Did some family pride, perhaps, play its part in 1919 when Holmes, for the Supreme Court of the United States, was able by quotation to bring back to respectable life one of the phrases in the repudiated opinion of his grandfather—there is nothing "mysteriously noxious" in every type of dealing with the enemy in wartime?[25]

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[17] *Opinion of the Justices,* 8 Mass. 548 (1812).

[18] Theophilus Parsons, *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons* (Boston, 1859), 228, 230.

[19] *Coolidge v. Inglee,* 13 Mass. 26 (1816).

[20] *The Ariadne,* 2 Wheat. 143 (1817).

[21] *Ibid.,* 148.

One healthy aspect of the provincial pride of the early Massachusetts judges must not be overlooked. In treating the commonwealth to the fullest extent possible as an independent nation, capable of establishing its own commercial and international law, the judges assumed an enlarging responsibility. The horizon of their interest was extended to the limits of their ambition for Massachusetts. This meant that the law which it was their responsibility to declare—perhaps even their pleasure to make—had broad and extensive dimensions. The greatness of their British contemporary, Lord Stowell, it has been said, was made effective by the fact that he came to the Court of Admiralty at a time when there were no English precedents in the prize law by which he was controlled or from which he could even seek guidance. Daring fully to discharge his responsibility he played the rôle of lawmaker instead of merely filling the office of judge.[26] The forceful judges of Massachusetts had and assumed a responsibility analogous to that of Stowell, but in a field of law much broader than that with which Stowell was principally concerned. The Massachusetts judges would undoubtedly have shared the opinion of their

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[22] *Patton v. Nicholson*, 3 Wheat. 204 (1818).

[23] *Kershaw v. Kelsey*, 100 Mass. 561 (1861).

[24] James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Editor, (12th edition: Boston, 1873), I. *67, *n.* 1.

[25] *Birge-Forbes Company v. Heye*, 251 U.S. 317, 323 (1919).

[26] Edward Stanley Roscoe, *Lord Stowell* (London, 1916), 51.

South Carolina contemporary, Abraham Nott, presiding judge of the court of appeals, who announced in 1826 that "the great object of courts ought to be to fix principles, and not merely to decide cases."[27] While Jackson sat on the supreme judicial court he and his associates laid the foundations of the whole law of the commonwealth and in doing so drew upon all sources available to men of industrious learning. The admiration of Jackson and his associates for British institutions and their distrust of the despotism of France were not so compelling as to make them inhospitable to the law of the Continent. If the pride of Massachusetts at times approached disloyalty to the nation, that pride was not parochial, but as expressed in the impulse of the Federalist bench and bar sought to invigorate the law of Massachusetts with the wisdom of other nations. As a result the later generation of Massachusetts lawyers and judges to which Jackson's grandson belonged fell heir to a professional tradition which was in no sense provincial.

The problems which came before the Jackson court for decision concerned, of course, not simply matters of international moment but constitutional questions of lasting importance to the commonwealth and nation. The attitudes of mind which Jackson brought to those problems, not substantially different from those of his associates, reflect the subtleties of New England's conservatism at the opening of the century. The adaptation of American constitutional principles to the needs of a laissez-faire economy was so strikingly successful during the post-Civil-War period that the effort has frequently been made—and often with success—to trace the policy of adaptation to the judicial decisions and dicta of this earlier formative period. The seeds of doctrine by which the judiciary secured supreme responsibility for defining the limits beyond which government could not go in interfering with economic freedom were planted during Jackson's years on the court, and in one instance were planted by his hand. Yet to disregard the persistent fidelity of the conservative court to the principle that legislation is to be presumed constitutional would be to overlook important subtleties in the conservatism of the time and place. When acts of legislation were challenged on constitutional grounds the court customarily gave real weight and not simply lip service to the presumption that the legislature had not violated the Constitution. Mr.

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[27] *Ryan v. Baldrick,* 3 McCord (Law) 498, 500 (1826).

Chief Justice Parker said that "our duty is to give effect to such acts of the legislature as they have the constitutional authority to make, without regarding their evil tendency or inexpediency . . . and if a law, however complained of, is suffered to remain unrepealed, the only legal presumption is that it is the will of the community that such should be the law."[28] In this statement and in many decisions of the Federalist court one sees a healthy tolerance of legislative authority and a willingness, if somewhat unhappy, to allow the legislature to make the law.

In the constitution of this tolerance there were doubtless many elements. One element, however, is often overlooked which was significant of a basic principle of New England's conservatism. That was the conviction that each individual must suffer the risks as well as secure the advantages of living in a competitive democracy. The principle, as applied to conflict between individuals, was reflected in the holding that a landowner may, without liability to his neighbor, excavate his own land to such a depth that he destroys the foundations of his neighbor's house.[29] Though in the resolution of such a controversy no explicit reference was made to the public interest, it is evident that the court was persuaded that in the long run the welfare of the community depends upon individual enterprise and initiative and that it would be unfavorable to progress if the citizen were to rely on others to protect his interests and give them support. As applied to the relationships between the government and its citizens the same principle of individualism was expressed in the decision that the landowner has no right against a municipality which, in improving a highway, weakens the foundations of abutting houses.[30] To Chancellor Kent the first decision seemed right, the second clearly erroneous.[31] In the eyes of Jackson and his associates, however, the right of the community to make improvements in its property seemed no different from that of the private owner, and only when constitutional or legislative provision explicitly required the payment of compensation for injury could the private owner seek recompense. In the light of such a decision it is hard to accept the view that a primary concern of Federalist judges was to protect the property rights of citizens from governmental impairment.

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[28] *Adams v. Howe*, 14 Mass. 340 (1817).

[29] *Thurston v. Hancock*, 12 Mass. 220 (1815).

[30] *Collender v. Marsh*, 1 Pick. 418 (1823).

[31] Kent, *Commentaries*, I. *67, *n.* 1; III. *437; II. *339.

It is nonetheless true, however, that the Federalist judges planted seeds of another faith with respect to the relationships between the individual and his government. When in 1814 a particular plaintiff whose claim was barred by the general statute of limitations was, despite that fact, authorized by legislative resolve to sue, Jackson for a unanimous court held that if the legislature intended to deprive the defendant of the benefit of standing laws available to others the effort would be "manifestly contrary to the first principles of civil liberty and natural justice, and to the spirit of our constitution and laws."[32] The willingness of Jackson to justify the exercise of the judicial power to invalidate legislation upon grounds of natural law and the spirit of the constitution was significant of a developing attitude towards the prerogative of judges which was destined greatly to expand and to become one of the centers of national controversy in the time of Holmes. It should not be forgotten, however, that in resisting this development of judicial power, Holmes was supported by forgotten traditions of the old conservatism.

The roots of the American legal tradition to which Holmes was heir reached during his grandfather's generation below the somewhat sandy soil of commercial, international, and constitutional law to the core of New England's inheritance. In a society for which matters of religious faith were matters of civil law the judges could not escape the responsibilities of active participants in the process of shaping the religious institutions of the commonwealth and thus giving direction to its intellectual destinies. The dominant spiritual issue confronting Massachusetts during the period of Jackson's tenure of judicial office was the conflict between the Calvinism of the orthodox Congregational churches and the new liberalism of the Unitarians. When the state's Constitution of 1780 was adopted, the Calvinists seemed to have succeeded in their effort to secure for themselves privileges and prerogatives which would give them protection against the assaults of the unorthodox. So long as a majority of the legislature was Calvinist the specific provisions in the constitution empowering the legislature to compel church attendance, and public support of "Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality," gave reasonable assurance that the Congregational churches would enjoy their traditional advantages. The folly of the orthodox faith that legal barriers could halt the progress of inquiring minds and fix upon subsequent generations the religious institutions of their forefathers did not make the danger of its triumph unsubstantial. Much in the background of the religious clauses in the constitution gave weight to the contention of the Calvinists. Had they succeeded, as they well might have, in persuading the supreme judicial court that the grim vitality of their ancient privileges was buttressed by secular law, the growth of unorthodox doctrine would have been considerably handicapped. If, as the Calvinists argued, it was sound constitutional law that the taxes imposed upon all for the support of the ministry could not be disbursed to other ministers than those of Congregational or incorporated churches,[33] if a Calvinist minority within a Unitarian parish could call an orthodox minister to the Church and compel the community of Unitarians to support him, and if the property of the Church was to be controlled by the minority,[34] the impediments to freedom would have been substantial indeed. Yet each of these contentions, supported by a considerable body of historical justification from the colonial period, was vigorously made before the supreme judicial court during the term of Jackson's office.

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[32] *Holden v. James,* 11 Mass. 396, 405 (1814).

It happened that Jackson wrote none of the opinions in which the Calvinist contentions were rejected by the court, but he concurred in each of them. As a result of the determination of the court that a majority of the inhabitants of a parish had legal rights superior to those of a majority of the members of a church within that parish,[35] the Unitarians, increasingly representative of the spirit of the times, were able effectively to compete with Calvinism and to play their important part in opening the way over which the minds of later generations of Americans were destined to travel. By its holding that the legislature might constitutionally allow any person affiliated with a dissenting group to escape the payment of taxes for the support of the Congregational minister by making a voluntary contribution to the support of his dissenting teacher,[36] the court not only sanctioned a serious reduction in the security of the orthodox ministers but for the first time allowed liberty of conscience to have effective consequences. The Calvinists not unnaturally were quick to object to those consequences and called the attention of the Constitutional Convention of 1820 to an unfortunate result of the court's decision. They referred with particular sadness to the sinner who abandoned his Congregational parish and joined a neighboring society of Baptists. When, after his baptism, he was asked whether by his immersion his sins had been washed away, he replied that he did not care about that for he had washed away his taxes.[37] Thus, it was pointed out, a campaign of tax evasion was being successfully fought under the banner of religious liberty. Quite probably the court had not been unaware of these dangers, for Mr. Chief Justice Parker, in his opinion, had said that he and his associates recognized the injury to public morals and religion which resulted from such indulgent legislation, but that it was beyond the judicial competence to deny effect to statutes which, no matter how inexpedient, were constitutionally valid.

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[33] *Adams v. Howe*, 14 Mass. 340 (1817).

[34] *Baker v. Fales*, 16 Mass. 488 (1820).

[35] The opinion in *Baker v. Fales* was by Chief Justice Isaac Parker. The outcome of the case was, of course, a great shock to the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, but there had been prior indications in opinions of Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons that the Calvinists were not so secure in their prerogatives as they liked to suppose themselves to be. See, for example, *Burr v. Sandwich*, 9 Mass. 277 (1812).

For Holmes, this struggle in which Mr. Justice Jackson and his associates played such a liberating part may well have seemed to be something more personally significant than merely a chapter in the intellectual history of the community into which he was born. For if his mother's father was one of the liberators of the New England mind, his father's father, Abiel Holmes, was among those Calvinists from whose grip the reins of spiritual power had fallen after the unfavorable decisions of the Jackson court. Abiel Holmes in 1829 found himself the pastor of a Congregational church in a Cambridge parish of whose inhabitants a majority no longer persisted in the Calvinism to which his loyalties were still committed. Although there is reason to doubt that his temperament and convictions were as ardently orthodox as those of the truly strenuous Calvinist, he was sufficiently rigid in his belief to reject the possibilities of compromise which his parishioners tendered him. Reluctantly Abiel Holmes was forced, by the rule of law so recently established, to surrender his church to the Unitarian insurgents and with the intransigent few to found a new church dedicated to the preservation of the old faith.[38] It is not surprising that Abiel Holmes's son, a man of science living in the new world of values so distrusted by his father, should look with envy on the gentle tolerance of his wife, brought up by a father to whom the ideals of Calvinism were "simply shocking." How drastically the old fervor of Calvinism had been diluted in the blood of his descendants was suggested by his grandson when he participated in the exercises celebrating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the church in Cambridge founded by Thomas Shepard, from which Abiel Holmes had been dismissed. "The political children of Thomas Shepard," said Justice Holmes, "we surely are. We are not all his spiritual children. . . . his descendants have learned other ways and other thoughts than those in which he lived and for which he was ready to die. I confess that my own interest in those thoughts is chiefly filial; that it seems to me that the great currents of the world's life ran in other channels, and that the future lay in the heads of Bacon and Hobbes and Descartes, rather even than in that of John Milton. . . . But even if we are not all of us the spiritual children of Thomas Shepard, even if our mode of expressing our wonder, our awful fear, our abiding trust in face of life and death and the unfathomable world has changed, yet at this day, even now, we New Englanders are still leavened with the Puritan ferment."[39]

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[36] *Adams v. Howe*, 14 Mass. 340 (1817).

[37] *Journal of Debates . . . in the Convention . . . 1820–1821*, 260.

The tyranny of labels is such that one cannot fail to feel some surprise that a Federalist court, conservative in its political and economic principles, should have been the agency by which the forces of radical theology were given the opportunity to alter the ecclesiastical foundations of the commonwealth. The reasons why such judges as Parsons, Parker, Story, and Jackson, formidably conservative in economic and political matters, should in matters of personal faith have abandoned Calvinism and turned to Unitarianism are perhaps the converse of those which led Samuel Adams, the arch-conservative in matters of belief, to lead the colonists of 1775 in political revolution from

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[38] The best recent account of the controversy between Abiel Holmes and his parishioners is in Eleanor M. Tilton, *Amiable Autocrat* (New York, 1947), 43–49, 147–148. This controversy was, of course, only one of many similar disputes in other parishes throughout the commonwealth.

[39] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, *Speeches* . . . (Boston, 1891), 21.

England.[40] Perhaps, as the Congregationalists charged, the personal convictions of the Massachusetts judges affected their judicial decisions.[41] In any case their effectiveness as liberators of the minds of their contemporaries and descendants is greatly to their credit and entitles them to a share of the gratitude which Jefferson and Madison, as champions of religious freedom, have so richly deserved. The boundaries of their tolerance were, to be sure, narrower than those accepted by some of their Virginia contemporaries, yet it must be remembered that the new faith which they embraced had in it the seeds of further growth. It was by way of Unitarianism that Emerson reached philosophy, and for Holmes, if not for his whole generation, the influence of Emerson was profound.

The qualities of New England's Federalist lawyers which had important effect upon the texture of American law and American life were many, but the tone which above all remains impressive is that of constructive conservatism. Reactionary in their politics, and suspicious as Jackson said he was of "the seeds of corruption . . . sown by the pretended philosophers of France,"[42] these men might easily, like Chancellor Kent, have tried to saddle the young republic with the heaviest traditions of the English law. Instead they showed themselves willing to give rein to creative forces in the law. If one tests the judicial career of Jackson by that frequently suggestive test—how he estimated the achievements of Lord Mansfield—one finds him among the admirers and disciples. That this put him in the camp opposing Jefferson is not surprising; that it signified an utterly different attitude towards law from that of such a distinguished and influential conservative as Kent, is, however, of considerable importance. Admiration of Mansfield, during the first half of the nineteenth century, marked an American judge as one who saw the judicial responsibility as creative. There was importance, of course, in the fact that master and disciples alike were conservative in political and economic matters, but to treat that label as if it were sufficient to describe, or even suggestive in characterizing their attitudes toward law, would lead to a misconception of their significance and a misinterpretation of dominant forces in American history. Those lawyers, like Jefferson, who considered that the creative energy of Mansfield was inconsistent with the traditional pretension of the common law[43]—that the judge's responsibility is limited to a descriptive declaration of preëxistent rules of conduct rooted in custom—were alert to the political consequences of a repudiation of that pretension by American judges. Their dominant concern was with issues of constitutional law, and they feared that American judges possessing Mansfield's willingness to legislate judicially in matters of private law would show equal energy when exercising the power to deal with constitutional questions. Those lawyers, like Kent, who though hostile to Jefferson's political faith shared his distrust of creative judging, were moved by more obscure considerations. In their eyes our inheritance was English common law, and the structural order of that system, admirable for its artificialities, was jeopardized by the infusion of personal conceptions of public convenience. The greatest judges were those who fulfilled their narrow responsibility with humility and tireless erudition. "We are bound," said Kent, "to declare the law as it has been handed down to us, and the symmetry of our system will be best preserved by resisting innovation."[44] Though Kent respected the "enlightened and cultivated judgment" of Mansfield,[45] he could not admire his restless spirit of innovation, and it was for Mansfield's successor, Lord Kenyon, that Kent felt the greater admiration. Kenyon, "like a Roman dictator, appointed to recall and reinvigorate the ancient discipline," had uttered a creed to which Kent wholeheartedly subscribed: "It is my wish and comfort to stand *super antiquas vias*. I cannot legislate, but by my industry I can discover what our predecessors have done, and I will [servilely] tread in their footsteps."[46] Certainly the considerations which led Kent to distrust the innovations of Mansfield were not wholly the same as those which led Jefferson to dread the "sly poison" of Mansfield's opinions.[47] Kent and Jefferson agreed in their hostility to judicial legislation, but the considerations which buttressed that hostility were very different for Kent from what they were for Jefferson. Kent was fearful of change by whatever instrumentality it might be effected; Jefferson was fearful of an irresponsible judicial power to alter existing institutions.

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[40] The revolutionary fervor of Adams the Calvinist is most persuasively described by Brooks Adams in *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1886), Chapter XI. For a cooler appraisal of the relationships between faith and politics at the time of the Revolution, see Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, 1928), *passim.*

[41] *Spirit of the Pilgrims* (Boston, 1829), II. 175–176.

[42] Jackson, *Oration . . . in Newburyport*, 19.

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[43] See Julian S. Waterman, "Jefferson and Blackstone," *Illinois Law Review*, XXVII (1933), 629.

[44] Dissenting in *Post v. Neafie*, 3 Caines 22, 35 (1805).

[45] Kent, *Commentaries*, I. *67, *n.* 1.

[46] *Ibid.*, *477–478. Kent's omission of the word "servilely" from his quotation of Kenyon may well have not been accidental.

Had the strange alliance between Jeffersonian and Kentian conceptions of the judicial process prevailed against the creative drive of Mansfield's American heirs, the structure of American law by the middle of the nineteenth century would have been very different from what it was. The problems with which Parker and Shaw were concerned in Massachusetts were no different in kind from those which absorbed the energies of Kent in New York and Tilghman and Gibson in Pennsylvania. The demand for drastic reform through codification which William Sampson and David Dudley Field were making in New York was reëchoed in Pennsylvania by William Duane, in South Carolina by John L. Wilson, and in Massachusetts by Robert Rantoul. Had the reformers anywhere achieved the full successes towards which they strove, the creative participation of the American judiciary in the law-making process would have been drastically reduced. The strategy of the conservatives varied between the stubborn intransigence of Kent, which led inevitably to drastic legislative modification of the ancient symmetries which he struggled to preserve, and the flexible adaptability of Parsons and Shaw, resulting in the preservation of traditional judicial powers and the discriminating rejection of much legal dogma of English origin ill suited to American needs. The astute tactics of Story in opposing the extremist program of reform by supporting a movement for "judicious codification"[48] were reinforced by Shaw, at a later day, in meeting the democratic assault on the common-law inheritance of Massachusetts by denying that that inheritance included repressive doctrines unsuitable in a democracy.[49] The notable accomplishment of the creative conservatives was in preserving essential common-law traditions with respect both to substance and to method, and in adapting those traditions to the shifting needs of the community. Though they blocked revolution they did not stand in the way of change. Undeniably this process of conservation and adaptation entailed extensive legislation by judges. In doing so it kept alive the embers of Jeffersonian hostility to judges, but wise judges were careful not to allow their law-making to antagonize the dominant groups in American society.

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[47] Waterman, "Jefferson and Blackstone," 642.

[48] *Encyclopaedia Americana* (Philadelphia, 1835), VII. 592.

[49] *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 4 Metc. 111 (1842).

An instance of the creative conservatism of Mr. Justice Jackson, and an example of an unprovincial hospitality to ideas derived from other than New England sources which was not characteristic of New England's earlier brand of federalism, is the basic recommendation in the report of the commissioners on the revision of the general statutes of Massachusetts, of which he was chairman. In a series of reports, the commission, between 1834 and 1836, submitted proposed revisions of colonial, provincial, and commonwealth statutes of a general nature still in force, together with recommendations of desirable alterations. In his first report Jackson stated that the commissioners "were of opinion that it was highly desirable in a national point of view, that this Commonwealth should co-operate in gradually effecting . . . a general conformity among the codes of the several States of the Union."[50] The commissioners, accordingly, had determined in carrying out their obligation to model the proposed revised statutes of Massachusetts on the New York revision of 1829.

This willingness to follow the pattern of statutory law recently established in New York seems, on its surface, to indicate little more than a sensible judgment that the labor and experience of others should be fully utilized. Of course it does indicate that time had brought to Jackson a point of view much less provincial in its impulse than that which during the War of 1812 had prevented him and his associates from seeing advantage in subordinating the interests of Massachusetts to those of the nation. Further, however, the acceptance of the New York revision as the model for Massachusetts indicated a sympathy for the reform movement which one would not expect to find in the inflexible principles of New England federalism. In 1824 the New York legislature had named Chancellor Kent and two other distinguished lawyers revisors of the statutory law of the state. At that time nothing more radical seems to have been contemplated than a compilation of the existing statutory law. Kent, with a somewhat characteristic reluctance to work in harness, refused the appointment on the given terms and stated that he would not accept the office unless he had sole responsibility for preparing the revision. The governor could not, of course, accept Kent's proposal and in the chancellor's place appointed John Duer, a talented lawyer of Republican beliefs. Duer and his principal associate, Benjamin F. Butler, immediately saw an opportunity, through revision of the statutory law of the state, to effect basic legal reforms. The cumbersome confusion of common-law tradition and statutory enactment constituted in the eyes of Duer and Butler an insuperable barrier to the growth of democratic institutions, and their first object was to render the total body of New York law symmetrical and comprehensible. Though they denied that their purpose was the abandonment of the common-law tradition and the substitution of an all-sufficient code, their purpose clearly was the scientific codification of the bulk of the law of New York.[51] That their program for reform was substantially the same as that which Story was to support in Massachusetts in 1837 is good evidence of the fact that their radicalism was disciplined by a sophisticated professional competence. Duer and Butler persuaded the legislature to expand their authority beyond the limits first established and under the broader charter they prepared the revision which was enacted in 1829 as the revised statutes of New York. It would be misleading to suggest that the work effected a radical change in the fundamental law of New York. But it would be equally misleading to disregard the reforming impulse which prompted the revision or to treat its adoption as an insignificant victory for the Republican reformers. That Jackson and his Federalist associates accepted New York's Republican revision as the model for their draft of the general statutes of Massachusetts shows the inadequacy of political labels for the characterization of attitudes to law.

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[50] *Report of Commissioners,* Part I. vi.

When Dr. Holmes said that a child's education should begin at least one hundred years before his birth he translated his hopes of inheritance into terms which would suggest the continuing force of settled traditions. Whether the capacities and achievements of Jackson were important to Holmes as part of his inheritance or as part of his education is unimportant. The grandson was born into a world and came to professional maturity in an atmosphere in which the way of thinking of his grandfather's generation was still living. Furthermore, the judges of that generation left behind them something much more substantial than an appealing tradition and a persuasive point of view. In their opinions was to be found the law of the commonwealth, and on that foundation the institutions of Holmes's generation were built. That the careers of Jackson and Holmes were in the law, and that to each the law was not simply an arid means for self-advancement but the expression of man's hope that order may be approached through creative reason and found by critical knowledge, made the influence of the Jackson tradition peculiarly telling. To Jackson's generation the aphorism that "the sparks of all Sciences in the world are raked up in the ashes of the law"[52] was an accepted truism. It had been forgotten by American lawyers in the second half of the nineteenth century. To Holmes, however, it became a first article of faith. In accepting it, he set boundaries to his interest which made all knowledge relevant to his professional concern. The mind and character of Holmes, bounded by such broad horizons, were forced to confront the issues with which innumerable generations had been concerned. If the old issues had new complexities requiring fresh capacities for their resolution, it was well that these capacities in Holmes were coupled with an awareness that the issues were more ancient than their current complexity. Perhaps that awareness was his best inheritance.

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[51] See William Allen Butler, *The Revision and the Revisers* (New York, 1889), *passim.*

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[52] Sir Henry Finch, *Law* (London, 1636), 6.

More Odd Byways in American History

CHARLES WARREN[1]

AT the meeting of the Society in April, 1937, I read a group of more or less unknown episodes under the title, "Odd Byways in American History," some of which were later published in book form by the Harvard University Press, in 1942.[2]

It has seemed to me that two further odd byways might be interesting at the present time—one, entitled "The Kidnapping of the Washington National Monument Society," has an appropriateness to this Society, since its former President was the orator at the laying of the cornerstone of the monument in 1848, when Speaker of the House of Representatives, and he was also orator at the exercises in Washington in 1885.

The second of the odd byways is entitled "Andrew Jackson and the Roman Emperor's Sarcophagus."

The Kidnapping of the Washington National Monument Society

AFTER the celebration in 1832 of the centenary of George Washington's birth, and after several attempts had been made in Congress for the erection of a monument to him, or for a sarcophagus for him in the Capitol, a group of private citizens in Washington determined to form an association to raise funds for a monument (Baltimore having already started such a movement). Accordingly, in 1833, the Washington National Monument Society was organized (as an unincorporated association) with Chief-Justice Marshall as its president, and a board of managers composed of leading citizens of the city of Washington. Its members were to be contributors to this fund. Congress in 1848 authorized the erection of the monument and a grant of public funds to the society; and a cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1848. Up to 1854, the society had raised from the public the sum of about $230,000, and it had erected 156 feet of the proposed 590 feet of the monument.

In 1859, the society was incorporated by Act of Congress. The question has been often asked why, after existing successfully as an unincorporated society for twenty-six years, it became the subject of a congressional charter.

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[1] This paper was read at the February, 1950, meeting.

[2] See *Proceedings*, LXVI. 470.

The cause was a curious and little-known accident which happened to it in 1855, as follows.

By that year the funds of the society had become exhausted, and its officers had presented to the House of Representatives in Congress, July 19, 1854, a memorial dated June 29, 1854, stating that "all recent efforts . . . to obtain funds for completing the work have proved abortive," and they "are unable to devise any plan more likely to succeed," and they feel it their duty "to bring to the attention of the Representatives of the States and people of the Union these facts in order that such action may be had on them as to the assembled wisdom and patriotism of the Union may seem meet."

On motion of Congressman Henry May, of Maryland, a select committee of thirteen was appointed by the House of Representatives to consider the matter. This committee on Washington's birthday anniversary, February 22, 1855, reported a joint resolution recommending that the sum of $200,000 be paid to the board of managers of the society, "it being a subscription by the Congress of the United States toward a Monument now erecting by the Society to the memory of Washington," and also that 100,000 copies of the report be printed for distribution by Congress, "in order to remove from the minds of the people any distrust touching its management and the character of those who have charge of this pious work."[3]

Though it was evident that the House favored the resolution—Theodore Gaillard Hunt, of South Carolina, saying that "public sentiment is with us and every man's heart is in the action"—May, after reporting the joint resolution, stated to the House on February 22 that he did not now propose to ask for any action on the appropriation. For an unfortunate event had happened that day, news of which had just reached May, and he asked Congress to drop the whole matter.

What had occurred was the kidnapping of the Washington National Monument Society and of the monument itself, as the result of a careful, secret plot by the Know-Nothing, or Native American political faction in Washington. This new party had suddenly blossomed forth on the American political scene in 1853, as a result of the breaking up of the old Whig party. It had elected, in 1854, its candidate for mayor of Washington, after twenty years of Whig mayors; and it had had a sensational success in elections in Massachusetts and a few other states, North and South. Its policies resembled in some ways the Ku Klux Klan of later days, with its secret oaths, passwords, and rituals, and its opposition to the foreign-born and to the Roman Catholics.

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[3] This description of the episode is in part condensed from a history of the Washington Monument and of the society, by Frederick L. Harvey, printed as Senate Document Number 224 of the Fifty-Seventh Congress, Second Session, by order of the Senate, February 6, 1903, and in part from the *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-Third Congress, First Session, July 19, 1854, and Thirty-Third Congress, Second Session, February 8, 17, 22, and 23, 1855.

It was a crowd of adherents of this party which in the morning of February 22, 1855, assembled at the office of the Washington National Monument Society, held a meeting, and cast 755 votes for the election of new officers and a new board of managers. This meeting was entirely illegal. In the first place, the call for the meeting—printed in the newspapers that morning and the afternoon before—was issued by the clerk of the society, who had no color of authority to issue such a notice; and finally, most of the holders of the certificates of membership were probably not entitled to vote, since many certificates had been issued without authority from the society and represented no contributions, as required. The whole proceeding, therefore, was a raid on the society, and a pure usurpation of power.

On February 24, the legal society held a special meeting protesting against this pretended election and appointed a committee to carry its protest into effect. On March 9, however, the usurping officers, after threats to the superintendent of the monument grounds, took possession of the monument itself, and of all the buildings and material belonging to the society, and appointed a new superintendent. For over three years the usurpers held possession. They appealed to the public for contributions, collected money, and, in order to establish public confidence, proceeded to add two courses of stone to the height of the shaft, by using rejected blocks of defective marble which had been on the ground when possession was taken. It may be noted that, after the legal society regained possession and work was resumed by it, these defective courses had to be stripped off.

Meanwhile, the legal officers had maintained their position, and in turn had issued appeals to the public for contributions, though naturally with scanty success, in view of the fact that competing appeals were being made by two boards of officers.

The kidnappers continued to hold possession for over three years, until October 20, 1858, when they turned over to the legal officers the monument and other property, including the sum of $258.09, but without making any accounting for their actual receipts from contributions.

The legal officers and managers of the society, meanwhile, had taken warning by their experience; and to avoid in the future any such capture of an unincorporated association, by intruders or otherwise, they had applied to Congress for the incorporation of eighteen members, and no more, including the survivors of those to whom the original grant had been made in 1848. On February 17, 1858, Senator Pearce, of Maryland, had introduced a bill for such a charter. On April 8, 1858, the bill had been passed over in the Senate until certain amendments could be made; but on April 15, 1858, the amended bill passed the Senate—one of the amendments was the insertion of the provision that the President of the United States should be the president of the society *ex officio*, and that the governors of the several states should be *ex officio* vice presidents. The following year, on January 29, 1859, when Senator Bright, of Indiana, introduced the bill again, Senator Brown, of Mississippi, said: "It went to the House of Representatives, and by some mistake was laid on the table. Members of the House tell me they are sorry it was done, and ask us to pass the same bill and send it back to them." It passed the Senate without debate on January 29, 1859, and passed the House equally without debate on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1859, and became the Act of February 26, 1859, in the Second Session of the Thirty-Fifth Congress.[4] Owing to the Senate amendments, the Washington National Monument Society has become a unique corporation in the United States, for it has only eighteen members, self-perpetuating; while it has forty-nine officers created by congressional action, together with four officers elected by the members—all by reason of the kidnapping of the society in 1855.

Andrew Jackson and the Roman Emperor's Sarcophagus

In the year 1838 there returned to this country, after a three-year cruise in command of the Mediterranean Squadron of the United States Navy, Commodore Jesse Duncan Elliott. He brought with him two marble Roman sarcophagi, the future disposition of which constitutes a curious incident in our history.

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[4] Statutes of the United States, XI. 386.

Elliott was a talented officer, with a distinguished career, but a man of so controversial a nature and fiery temper that he became known as "the stormy petrel of the Navy." Appointed a midshipman by President Jefferson in 1804, he took an active part in the Battle of Lake Erie which brought him an award of a gold medal from Congress at the same time as its award of a similar medal to Commodore Perry. This congressional action gave rise to a violent quarrel between the two officers which lasted for more than twenty years in books and on the floor of Congress, and resulted in his challenging Perry to a duel. He was later challenged to a duel by Commodore David Porter. James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist, in his *History of the Navy,* became his warm defender. He was court-martialled in 1839 for cruelty to subordinates on his Mediterranean cruise, and was sentenced to four years' suspension from duty, under President Van Buren—a sentence later remitted in part by President Tyler. Meanwhile, he had served as a captain in the war with Algiers, and a commodore of the squadron in South American waters, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean Sea. While cruising in the last, from 1835 to 1838, he had touched at Beirut (the Roman Berytus), in Syria; and there, having become interested in classical matters, he found, in gardens above the modern city, two ancient white marble sarcophagi, beautifully carved, one having the following inscription on it: "Julia—C. Fil.—Mamaea—VIX-XXX," and the other without any inscription.

Greatly interested in his discovery, Elliott purchased both sarcophagi and had them transported to this country. At some time after their arrival, Elliott came to the conclusion that the inscription on the first meant that it had been the coffin of Julia Mamaea, daughter of Caius—thirty years old; and that this Julia Mamaea was the mother of the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus (205–235). Since the other sarcophagus was found near the first, but without any inscription, Elliott concluded that it had been the coffin of the Emperor himself. It is not known on what evidence he based his conclusion; but at some time in the six years before his death he presented to Carlisle College, in Pennsylvania, the sarcophagus with the inscription, stating that he had destined it for the body of the Philadelphia philanthropist, Stephen Girard. The other he designed to present to the Smithsonian Institution, to contain the body of "the generous [James] Smithson." The latter project proved impracticable, by reason of the delay by Congress in constituting the present Smithsonian Institution.[5] Therefore, Elliott, having been elected in 1845 a member of the National Institute (a scientific corporation chartered by Congress in 1842), determined to present the sarcophagus to that body. This he did in an address delivered on March 17, 1845, before the National Institute, attaching, however, an extraordinary condition to the gift, in which he expressed his "fervent hope that it will be received and retained by the National Institution until it be carried to its final resting place where (containing all that is mortal of the patriot and hero, Andrew Jackson) it will, for a long succession of years, be visited as a hallowed relic."[6] Following this presentation, Captain G. W. Hughes, of the Topographical Engineer Corps, addressed the meeting, referring to the "touching and imposing ceremony full of moral sublimity . . . . in the exhibition of respect and veneration paid by a distinguished and chivalrous officer of our Navy to a gallant and illustrious soldier," and "indulging the hope that the brilliant example of the old warriors of both branches of our military service would not be lost on their successors, who, he trusted, would emulate their devotion to the Republic, by fighting its battles in war, and in aiding the advancement of science in a time of peace."

The day after his gift, Elliott sent to Ex-President Jackson the following letter, dated March 18, 1845:

My dear General, Last night I made something of a speech at the National Institute, and have offered for their acceptance the sarcophagus which I obtained at Palestine, brought home in the *Constitution,* and believed to contain the remains of the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus, with the suggestion that it might be tendered you for your final resting place. I pray you, General, to live on in the fear of the Lord; dying the death of a Roman soldier, an emperor's coffin awaits you.

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[5] The Smithsonian bequest to the United States of America under his will was accepted by Congress on July 1, 1836. When paid, it amounted to £104,960, producing at the mint $508,318.41. The Treasury invested it in bonds or stock of the states of Arkansas, Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio. A very great loss was incurred later, owing to the panic of 1837 and repudiation by some of the states. The Smithsonian Institution was not incorporated by Congress until 1856.

[6] In the Third Bulletin (February, 1842, to February, 1845) of the *Proceedings of the National Institute,* the gift was described as follows: "Large Sarcophagus inscribed with hieroglyphics supposed to have contained the coffin of the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus procured at Beyroot in Syria and brought to the United States in the frigate *Constitution.* From Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, U.S.N." See *Papers Relative to the National Institute,* collected and arranged by Francis Markoe, Jr., Corresponding Secretary.

I am, truly, your friend.

To this letter offering to him an Emperor's marble tomb, General Jackson sent the following characteristic reply, from his home at "The Hermitage," in Tennessee, March 27, 1845:

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 18th instant tonight with a copy of the Proceedings of the National Institute, furnished me by their corresponding secretary, on the presentation by you of the sarcophagus for acceptance on condition it shall be preserved and in honor of my memory, have been received, and are now before me. Although laboring under great debility and affliction, from a severe attack from which I may not recover, I raise my pen and endeavor to reply. The steadiness of my nerves may perhaps lead you to conclude my protraction of strength is not so great as here expressed. Strange as it may appear, my nerves are as steady as they were forty years gone by, whilst from debility and affliction I am gasping for breath. I have read the whole proceedings of the presentation by you of the sarcophagus, and the resolutions passed by the board of directors so honorable to my fame, with sensations and feelings more easily to be conjectured than by me expressed. The whole proceedings call for my most grateful thanks, which are hereby extended to you, and through you to the president and directors of the National Institute. But with the warmest sensations that can inspire a grateful heart, I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an Emperor or King.

My Republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of government forbids it. Every monument erected to perpetuate the memory of our heroes and statesmen ought to bear evidence of the economy and simplicity of our republican institutions and of the plainness of our republican citizens, who are the sovereigns of our glorious Union and whose virtue it is to perpetuate it. True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions. It can only dwell with the people—the great laboring and producing classes—that form the bone and sinew of our Confederacy.

For these reasons, I cannot accept the honor you and the president and directors of the National Institute intended to bestow. I cannot permit my remains to be the first in these United States to be deposited in a sarcophagus made for an Emperor or King. I again repeat, please accept for yourself and convey to the president and directors of the National Institute my most profound respect for the honor you and they intended to bestow. I have prepared an humble depository for my mortal body beside that wherein lies my beloved wife, where, without any pomp or parade, I have requested, when my God calls me to sleep with my fathers, to be laid; for both of us there to remain until the last trumpet sounds to call the dead to judgment, when we, I hope shall rise together, clothed with that heavenly body promised to all who believe in our glorious Redeemer

> who died for us that we might live, and by whose atonement I hope for a blessed immortality.
>
> I am, with great respect, your friend and fellow-citizen.

This declination of his gift, Elliott communicated to the National Institute, April 8, 1845, and offered to it the sarcophagus free from all conditions. He stated that Jackson

> with sentiments so congenial to his strict republicanism and in accordance indeed with the republican feelings common to ourselves, takes the ground of repugnance to connecting his name and fame in any way with imperial associations. We cannot but honor the sentiments which have ruled his judgment in the case, for they are such as we must add to the lustre of his character. We subscribe to them ourselves, and while we yield to their force, we may still be permitted to continue our regard to the enduring marble as to an ancient and classic relic, a curiosity in itself and particularly in this country as the first of the kind in our Western hemisphere. From it, we would deduce the moral that while we would disclaim the public pomp and circumstance of imperial pageantry as unfitting our institutions and profession, we would sedulously cherish the simple republican principles of reposing our fame and honors in the hearts and affections of our countrymen. I have now, in conclusion, to say that as the sarcophagus was originally presented with the suggestion of using it as above mentioned, I now commit it wholly to the Institution as their own and sole property exempt from any condition.

Before the end of the year 1845, both Jackson and Elliott had died, the one on June 8, and the other on December 16.

For over ten years thereafter, the sarcophagus remained deposited in the old Patent Office, which building held the scientific and art collections belonging to the National Institute. After 1856, it was transferred with other property of the latter to the Smithsonian Institution. For all these years, it bore the designation of "the Sepulchre of the Roman Emperor, Alexander Severus"; and thousands of plain Americans who had never visited foreign parts were thrilled to believe that they were viewing the actual tomb of an ancient Emperor.

In 1867, however, the authorities at the Smithsonian began to question the accuracy of the label on the sarcophagus. Since Commodore Elliott was then dead, no one knew on what grounds he had based his identification of it as the tomb of the Emperor.

Finally, on May 28, 1867, Rear-Admiral Andrew Allen Harwood, who had served as first lieutenant on the frigate *Constitution* with Commodore Elliott during the Mediterranean cruise of 1835-1838, addressed a letter to Professor Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian, representing a committee appointed to pass on the question of identity. In this letter, Harwood said:

> Deposited in the Patent Office for many years, it was conspicuously labelled as the Imperial Sepulchre, in spite of the palpable absurdity of the supposition. . . . It is to be regretted that Commodore Elliott, in his anxiety to enhance the value of his gifts, should have persuaded himself to announce them as having once contained the remains of Alexander Severus and his mother. The wish, and the wish only, seems to be father of the thought, but nothing surely can be further from the fact than the hypothesis, as will be seen by the most cursory glance at any Dictionary of Roman Biography.
>
> For if we entertain the very singular *non sequitur* that, because the Empress, Julia Mammaea was a Syrian lady and the Emperor her son was a Phoenician by birth, therefore a sarcophagus *without a name* found in Syria, *near* one inscribed with her name, must have been the receptacle of her son's remains, we must first establish the probability, if not the fact, that the tomb designated as that of Julia Mammaea was the tomb of the Empress of that name. . . . For we are informed that the Emperor was born A.D. 205, and was slain in Gaul in the 30th year of his age. Moreover, that his body was brought to Rome and there buried in a sepulchre ordered by the Senate.

The report expressed the definite opinion that the sarcophagi in question "were not those of the mother of Alexander and of Alexander himself, but of a young Roman lady of the same name and probably family as the Empress, and of a person probably Roman, name, sex unknown." This letter was further elaborated in an article by Admiral Harwood, dated December 17, 1869, published in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1870* (pages 384–385). In this article, Harwood stated that the sarcophagus was found *near* the one referred to as having been presented to Carlisle College which is inscribed with the name of Julia Mamaea, and in virtue of that fact assumed to be the coffin of the Roman Empress of the same name; and the wish thus becoming father to the thought, the contiguous receptacle was incontinently credited as having contained the mortal remains of her imperial son. Any respectable coffin in the same graveyard would have had as good a claim to the honor of having inclosed an Emperor; but, after all, the first step to be taken should have been to ascertain who the Julia referred to by the inscription was. And he thought that the inscription on the Carlisle College sarcophagus (near which that owned by the Smithsonian had been found) constituted clear proof that it was not that of the mother of Alexander Severus—first, because the Emperor was born A.D. 205, and was slain in Gaul in the thirtieth year of his age and his body brought to Rome, and his body burned there in a sepulchre ordered by the Senate—and second, because, as Harwood sagely remarked:

> The Empress . . . was killed in Gaul with her son, Alexander, in a mutiny of the soldiers on the same day. According to the best authorities, he was just 30 years old when this event took place. None makes him more than 33. Assuming the least probable as the date then if the sarcophagus at Carlisle College be that of the mother of Alexander Severus, she must have given birth to her son when she was but 3 years old which is, to say the least, unusual.

Harwood's article concluded with the simple statement that a "plain and truthful label to put on the relic" would be "that the sarcophagus now deposited at the Smithsonian Institution was taken from an ancient cemetery at Beirut in Syria," and brought to the United States by Commodore Elliott; and that any further statement could not be substantiated.[7]

After receipt of this report, the description attached to the sarcophagus was changed so as to eliminate all reference to the Roman Emperor; and it has so remained, free from historical falsehood, to the present day in the Smithsonian Institution for one hundred and three years after its presentation. Carefully cleaned from dirt and smoke about 1940, it may now be seen in the grounds at the east end of the main building.

It is apparent, therefore, that Andrew Jackson in 1845 need not have had any republican scruples about acceptance and use of the sarcophagus as a last resting place, since it is clear that it had no imperial associations.

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[7] A letter from H. D. Gregory, of Girard College, to T. D. Rhees, Chief Clerk of the Smithsonian Institution, of December 4, 1883 (see its files), discussed Harwood's article. He stated that there were four Julias; that the Empress Julia Mamaea was the daughter of Julia Soemia; that the one in question "might have been a relative of the Empress, the mother of Alexander, both because the Empress was of a Syro-Phoenician family and because the style of the Sarcophagus, incorrectly represented as hers, is simple and elegant and might have contained the bones of the kinsman of an Empress."

John Brown of Osawatomie in Boston, 1857

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL[1]

In one of the delightful essays assembled in his *Figures of the Past*, Josiah Quincy remarked that "there are enough busts of men in the beautiful book-hall of the Athenæum to run a nominating caucus, or, at any rate, the more important pre-caucus, which really does the business."[2] Their number has not diminished in the decades that have passed since Quincy wrote, and the rooms of the Boston Athenæum today present a remarkable variety and quantity of portraiture. Sophocles, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, two eighteenth-century Winslows, Demosthenes, and Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw keep one another company in the reading room. In the vestibule Ball Hughes's seated statue of Nathaniel Bowditch faces a replica of Houdon's Washington from the Capitol at Richmond, while monumental portraits of Daniel Webster and John Marshall are paired upon another wall. Our Vice-President, Mr. Howe, in his autobiography tells of a poor Italian woman, observed opposite the Arlington Street Church, kneeling in prayer before the statue of William Ellery Channing.[3] If this same Italian woman, who seemingly sought a saint in a consecrated shrine, had by accident penetrated the vestibule of the Athenæum, her hand would have groped near the door for the holy-water stoup that this hieratic collection of portraits and statues so obviously requires.

On the second floor a marble copy of the Venus de Medici and Ball Hughes's interpretation of Dickens's Little Nell offer an instructive contrast in classical and Victorian costume. If one climbs to the fifth-floor gallery, as those who wished to smoke were obliged to do in former years, one finds a life-size oil portrait of John Brown of Osawatomie, secreted—because of its formidable appearance and slight artistic merit—in a little-used room overlooking the Granary Burying Ground. As if this gigantic portrait were not a sufficient memorial,

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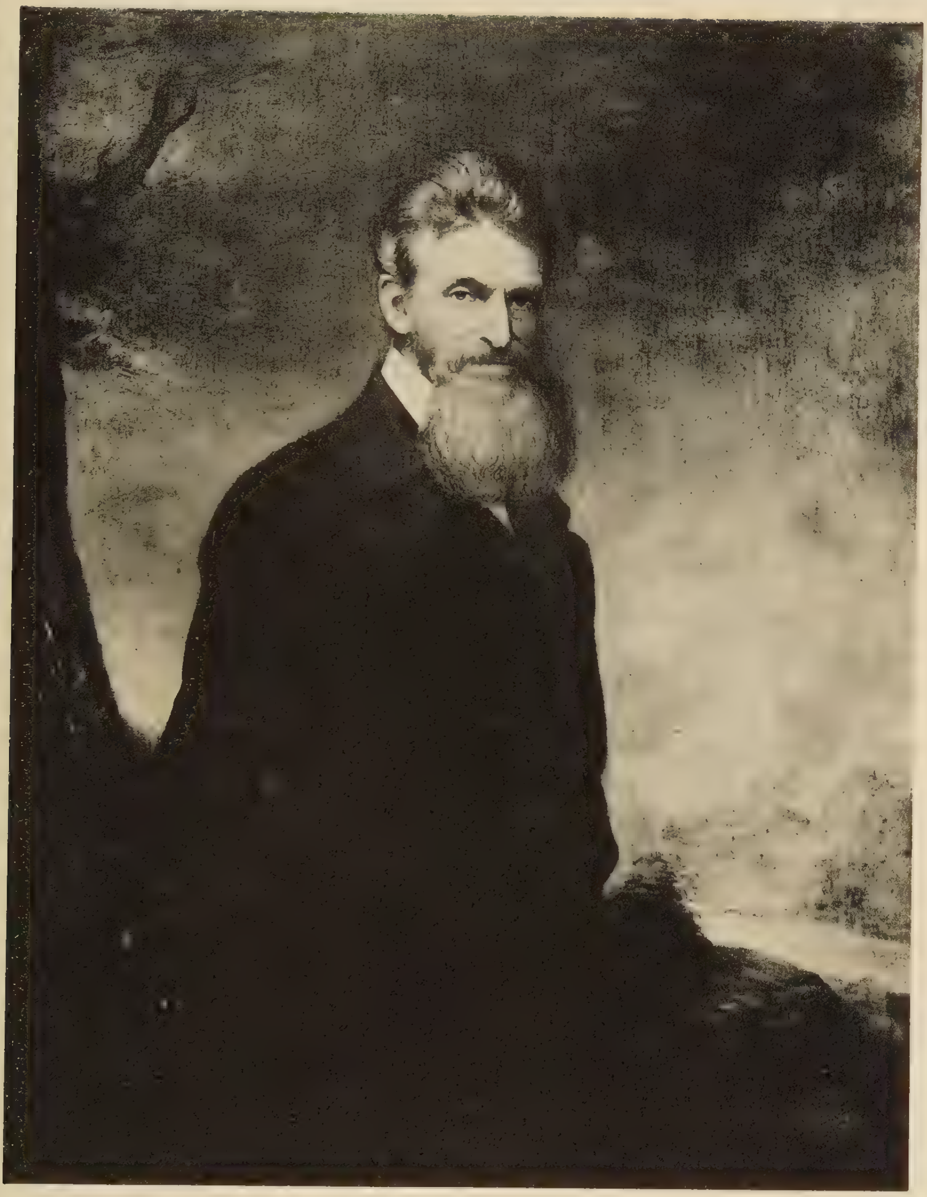
[1] This paper was read at the April, 1948, meeting.

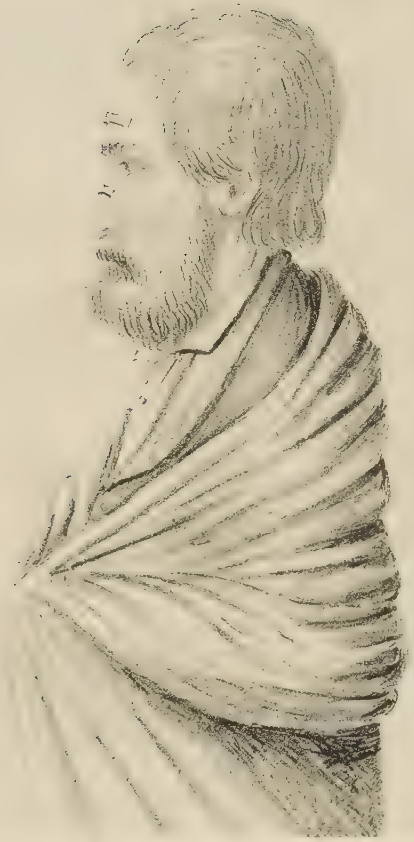
[2] Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past* (Boston, 1883), 333.

[3] M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *A Venture in Remembrance* (Boston, 1941), 180.



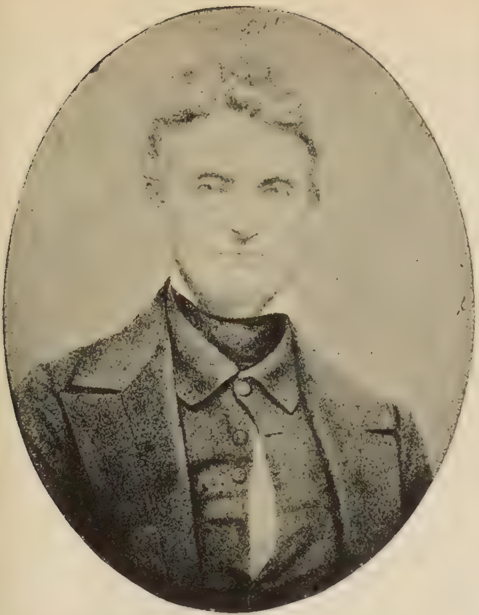
John Brown of Osawatomie

Oil portrait in Boston Athenæum painted by Nahum B. Onthank on an enlarged projection of a photograph taken in Boston by J. W. Black in May, 1859

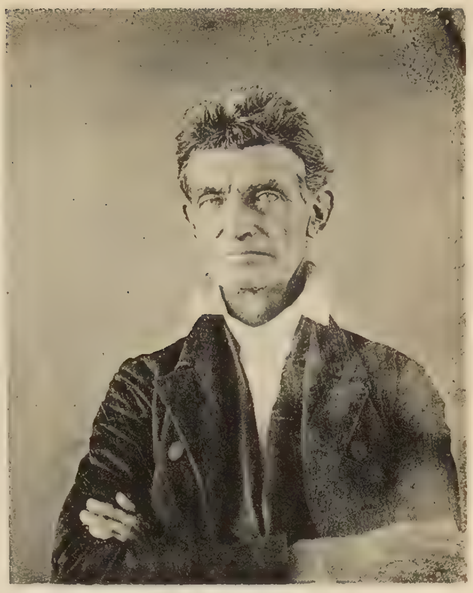


John Brown of Osawatomie
hearing the sentence of death

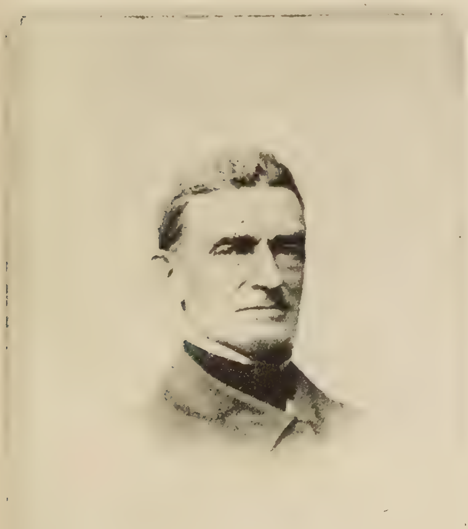
Pencil sketch made by an eyewitness in the Charlestown
Court House given to the Boston Athenæum
by Mrs. Ropes Cabot

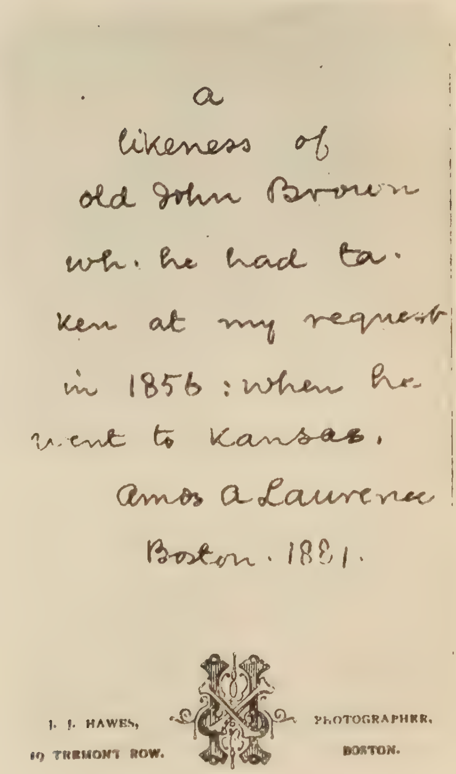


Daguerreotype reproduced in Webb's *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, probably taken between 1846 and 1850



Daguerreotype given to the Boston Athenæum by Miss Sally Fairchild, probably taken in Kansas about 1856



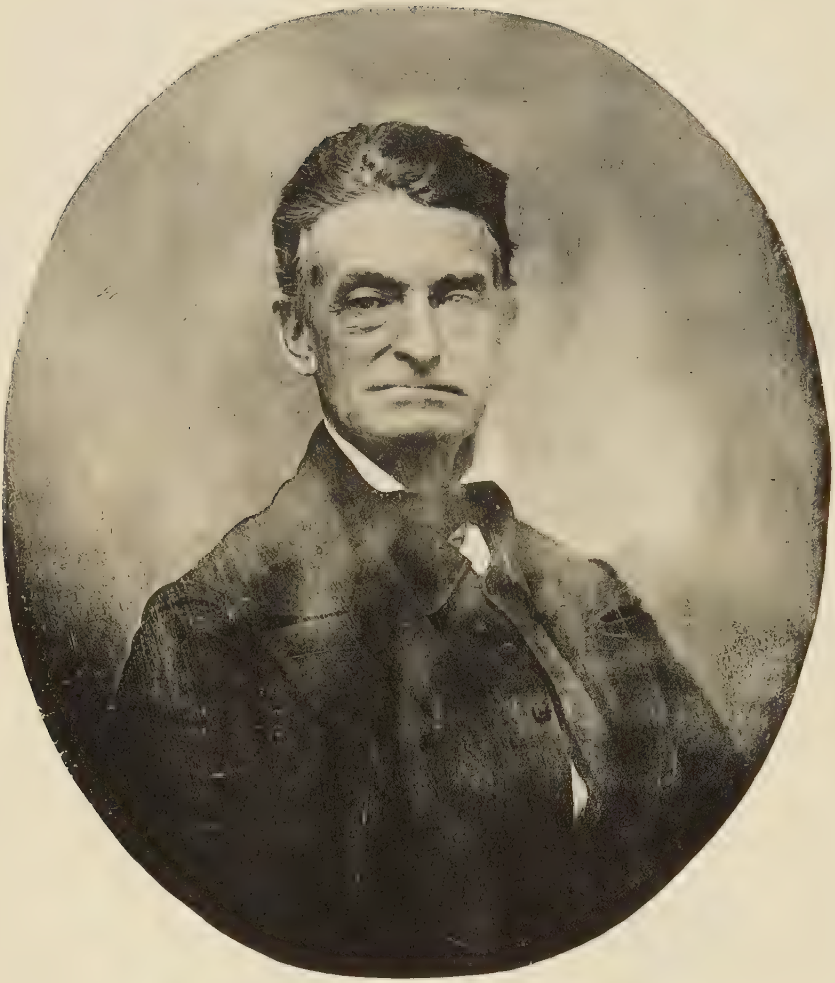


a
likeness of
old John Brown
wh. he had ta-
ken at my request
in 1856: when he
went to Kansas.
Amos A Lawrence
Boston. 1881.

J. J. HAWES,
19 TREMONT ROW.
PHOTOGRAPHER,
BOSTON.

Copy given to the Boston Athenæum by Rt. Rev. William Lawrence of a daguerreotype taken for Amos A. Lawrence in Boston in 1857

John Brown of Osawatomie



John Brown of Osawatomie

Daguerreotype given to the Boston Athenæum by James Redpath for whom it was taken in Boston in 1857 the Athenæum also possesses two daguerreotypes of John Brown, of more manageable dimensions and greater interest. Although by the time the visitor has reached the fifth floor he is prepared to find almost anyone commemorated, he may reasonably wonder why this vivid figure of Kansas and Virginia history is here represented in three different ways. The answer of course lies in John Brown's visits to Boston in 1857, 1858, and 1859, and in the enthusiasm of his friend and first biographer, James Redpath.

John Brown arrived in Boston on January 4, 1857, desirous of obtaining weapons and supplies for his activities in Kansas. He had a letter of introduction to Franklin B. Sanborn, the secretary of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee, and through him he immediately met George Luther Stearns, chairman of the committee, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Theodore Parker, Judge Thomas Russell, Wendell Phillips, and others whose friendships were of the highest value to him during the remaining thirty-five months of his life. Amos A. Lawrence, who had known John Brown as a wool merchant as far back as 1843, promptly called upon him at the United States Hotel, and entered in his journal the impression that Brown was "a calm, temperate, and pious man, but when roused he is a dreadful foe." In writing to friends to help in raising money, Mr. Lawrence described him as "the brave Captain John Brown, who may appropriately be called the 'Miles Standish' of Kansas."[4] On a Sunday evening at Theodore Parker's, Brown met William Lloyd Garrison, who "saw in the famous Kansas chieftain a tall, spare, farmer-like man, with head disproportionately small, and that inflexible mouth which as yet no beard concealed. They discussed peace and nonresistance together, Brown quoting the Old Testament against Garrison's citations from the New, and Parker from time to time injecting a bit of Lexington into the controversy, which attracted a small group of interested listeners."[5] Although Brown's new friends in Boston did not know exactly how he intended to attack the hated institution of slavery, they were eager to aid him to the best of their abilities; and George L. Stearns, of Medford, in particular, was so "strongly impressed with [Brown's] sagacity, courage, and strong integrity"[6] that he practi-

[4] William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence* (Boston, 1888), 124–125.

[5] Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800–1859. A Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston and New York, 1910), 272.

[6] Frank Preston Stearns, *The Life and Public Services of George Luther Stearns* (Phila-

cally put his purse at Brown's disposal. The first really heartening event of the visit occurred on January 7, when the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee voted to give him two hundred rifles, with appropriate quantities of ball cartridges and percussion caps. John Brown left Boston on the twenty-second, to attend a meeting of the National Kansas Committee in New York, but was back again on February 16. On the eighteenth he appeared before the Joint Committee on Federal Relations of the Massachusetts General Court in support of a requested appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the Kansas cause, but, despite his moving testimony, nothing was voted. On the following day he left Boston and for several weeks traveled in Massachusetts and Connecticut in an effort to raise money from private sources. On March 12 he was at Concord visiting Henry D. Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the following day he was with his good friends Mr. and Mrs. Stearns, in Medford. The next three weeks were spent in New Haven, Worcester, Easton in Pennsylvania, and Springfield, but his activities were hindered by the news that a deputy United States marshal was on his way east to arrest him for some of his Kansas transactions. As Brown himself described it, "One of U S Hounds is on my track; and I have kept myself hid for a few days to let my track get cold. I have no idea of being taken; *and intend* (*if 'God will';*) to go back with Irons *in* rather than *uppon* my hands." This period of hiding, from April 6 to 15, 1857, was in the house of Judge and Mrs. Thomas Russell in Boston. Mrs. Russell herself took charge of answering the door, lest the "U S Hounds" appear; Brown barricaded himself in his bedroom and expressed his determination not to be taken alive, although he considerately added to his hostess, "I should hate to spoil your carpet." So ended his 1857 visits to Boston: he had made friends; he had heard fine sentiments expressed; but he had not raised the funds that he needed. His disappointment at this—as well as his irritation at Massachusetts patriotic oratory—was expressed in a document written while in hiding with the Russells.[7]

Old Browns *Farewell:* to the Plymouth Rocks; Bunker Hill, Monuments; Charter Oaks; and Uncle Toms, Cabbins.

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delphia, 1907), 133. See, also, Frank Preston Stearns, "John Brown and his Eastern Friends," *New England Magazine*, XLII (1910), 589–599.

[7] Villard, *John Brown*, 287–288.

Has left for Kansas. Was trying since he came out of the territory to secure an outfit; or in other words *the means of arming and equiping thoroughly;* his regular minuet [*sic*] men: who are mixed up *with the people of Kansas:* and *he leaves the States;* with a DEEP FEELING OF SADNESS: that after having exhausted *his own small means:* and with his *family and his* BRAVE MEN: suffered hunger, nakedness, cold, sickness, (and some [of] them) imprisonment, with most barbarous, and cruel treatment: *wounds, and death:* that after lying on the ground for Months; in the most unwholesome *and* sickly; as well as uncomfortable *places:* with sick and wounded destitute of any shelter a part of the time; dependent (*in part*) on the care, and hospitality of the Indians: and hunted like Wolves: that after all this; in order to sustain a cause, which *every Citizen* of this "*Glorious Republic,*" is under equal Moral obligation to do: (*and for the neglect of which* HE WILL *be held accountable* TO GOD:) in which *every Man, Woman, and Child of the entire human family;* has a *deep and awful interest:* that when *no wages* are *asked, or expected:* he canot secure (amidst all the wealth, luxury, and extravagance of this "*Heaven exalted*" people;) even the necessary supplies, for a common soldier. "HOW ARE THE MIGHTY FALLEN?"

JOHN BROWN

Boston, April, 1857

In 1858 John Brown made another hasty trip to Boston, and was at the American House in Hanover Street from March 4 to 8 for conferences with Stearns, Frank Sanborn, Dr. Howe, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The last, after a single talk with Brown, described him as "simply a high-minded, unselfish, belated Covenanter; a man whom Sir Walter Scott might have drawn."[8] So forcibly was this impression conveyed that, after Harpers Ferry, Higginson wished to attempt the rescue of John Brown from prison, and, when that proved impracticable, cheerfully considered a project of capturing the Governor of Virginia and holding him as hostage for the release of Brown! A second stay at the American House from May 31 to June 3 completed John Brown's appearances in Boston during 1858.

Brown spent his last birthday, May 9, 1859, in Concord with Frank Sanborn. He had arrived there on the seventh and spoken in the town hall on the eighth; then, from May 10 until June 2, he was in Boston at the United States Hotel. During this last stay Amos Lawrence's enthusiasm cooled somewhat, for he wrote, on May 28, 1859: "Captain John Brown of Osawatomie called to see me with one of his rangers. He has been stealing negroes and running them off from Missouri. He has a monomania on that subject, I think, and

[8] *Ibid.*, 326.

would be hanged if he were taken in a slave State. He has allowed his beard to grow since I saw him last, which changes his appearance entirely, as it is almost white and very long."[9] Perhaps the most picturesque incident of Brown's stay was his visit to John M. Forbes, in Milton. In February, 1859, Samuel Gridley Howe had written Mr. Forbes asking him to see Brown, and on May 9 he wrote again to say: "Captain Brown (old J. B.) is here. If any one desires to get the thirty-two hundred and fifty dollars' reward offered for his apprehension by the governor of Missouri and the President of the United States, he has only to go to the hotel in Beach Street, and try to take the old fellow." Mr. Forbes, wishing to show the captain to the rest of his family,

> invited him and Mr. Frank Sanborn out to Milton to tea, and one rainy night they appeared. We summoned such neighbors as we could easily reach, among them William Hunt, and had a most interesting evening, and indeed night; for, the storm continuing, we kept them over and sat up talking until after midnight. . . . He repelled, almost with scorn, my suggestion that firmness at the ballot-box by the North and West might avert the storm; and said it had passed the stage of ballots, and nothing but bayonets and bullets could settle it now.

The talk ranged from the wool business to European armies and the fighting in Kansas. Brown had to go to Boston by the first train the next day, and so when Mr. Forbes's

> "parlor girl got up early, to open the house, she was startled by finding the grim old soldier sitting bolt upright in the front entry, fast asleep; and when her light awoke him, he sprang up and put his hand into his breast-pocket, where I have no doubt his habit of danger led him to carry a revolver."
>
> By an odd chance the very next day Governor Stewart, the pro-slavery governor of Missouri (who had set the price of $3250 on John Brown's head), "appeared on railroad business, and he too passed the night at Milton, little dreaming who had preceded him in my guest room."[10]

John Brown left Boston for the last time on June 3, 1859. Four and a half months later, on October 16, came the raid on Harpers Ferry. At daybreak on the eighteenth he was captured by forces commanded by Robert E. Lee, then colonel in the United States Army.

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[9] Lawrence, *Lawrence,* 130.

[10] *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes,* Sarah Forbes Hughes, Editor, (Boston, 1900), I. 178–182.

On October 25 his trial began, and on December 2 he was hanged.

The literature concerning John Brown is enormous, and still after more than ninety years it continues to grow. The first biography to appear was *The Public Life of Captain John Brown* by James Redpath, published in Boston by Thayer and Eldridge, 114 and 116 Washington Street, in 1860. As the Athenæum's copy was received as a gift from Thomas Wentworth Higginson on February 9, 1860—nine weeks after Brown's execution—it is evident that Redpath's work was a biography hot off the griddle. The nature of its views is best indicated by the dedication "To Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry D. Thoreau, Defenders of the Faithful, who, when the mob shouted 'Madman!' said, 'Saint!'" and by the author's ingenuous statement in the preface: "A publisher of New York asked me to write a Life of John Brown. He wanted it as a Republican campaign document. I declined. I would not help to light cigars from the fire above the altar." Five months later the same publishers issued Redpath's *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, a copy of which the author gave to the Athenæum on July 3. This compilation included eulogies by Thoreau, Emerson, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, and Theodore Tilton; two letters from Victor Hugo; poems by Whittier, William D. Howells, Mrs. L. Maria Child, and others; and the text of the services at Concord on the day of the execution, at which Thoreau spoke, Emerson read "portions of the conversations, speeches, and letters of John Brown," and Bronson Alcott not only offered sentences from Plato but also read the "Service for the Death of a Martyr," a "new and worthy liturgy" devised from the sayings of Our Lord and the *Wisdom of Solomon.*

James Redpath, the energetic soul responsible for these prompt publications, had been born in 1833 at Berwick-on-Tweed. About 1850 his family migrated to Michigan, and, after beginning work in a Detroit printing office, he was given a job by Horace Greeley on the staff of the *New York Tribune.* As a roving reporter he made several visits to Kansas between 1854 and 1859, met John Brown there, and became a fervent abolitionist. In his zeal for the advancement of the colored race, he accepted an appointment from the President of Haiti as Commissioner of Emigration in the United States; he founded the Haitian Emigrant Bureau in New York and Boston and later served as Haitian Consul in New York. After the Civil War he was for a time Superintendent of Education in Charleston, South Carolina, but in 1868 he established the Boston Lyceum Bureau, later known as the Redpath Lyceum Bureau. His earliest clients included such serious lecturers as Emerson, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Thoreau, Bayard Taylor, Wendell Phillips, and Julia Ward Howe, but he later added Mark Twain, Josh Billings, and Petroleum V. Nasby. Not content with humorists alone, he subsequently added a line of magicians and musicians to the attractions of his bureau. Redpath was run over by a street car in New York in 1891.

In the Boston Athenæum correspondence file for the year 1864 there is a long letter from Redpath to the Librarian, William F. Poole, concerning John Brown's visits to Boston in 1857, which is here printed for the first time.

Boston, February 27, 1864

Mr. Poole. Librarian Athenæum Boston

Sir—The daguerreotype of John Brown which I gave you some time since was taken in January 1857 or in December of the year before. I think that this was his first visit to Boston after he had become a man of note in connection with Kansas affairs. At least, he was personally known to very few of the friends of Kansas in Boston; and as I happened at the time to be brought into daily intercourse with numbers of them, I availed myself of the opportunity to testify my admiration of the old man by introducing him, wherever I could, to this class of people. If you have a file of the Boston Daily Telegraph (then edited by Mr. Baldwin, now M. C. from Worcester) you will find a description of him which I wrote at the time. The Captain saw it, but (as he always did) preferred that as little public notice should be taken of him as possible. But as he was very anxious to raise money for his schemes, he gladly went with me one evening to see a number of friends, including some members of the Legislature, at the Marlboro Hotel, to whom (in company with Governor Robinson, who was staying there) he spoke—sitting—with his characteristic emphasis on Kansas affairs, and of the measures needed to put things to right in the Territory. There was a Democrat present, who, in a sneaking sort of way, asked—Whether, if the money that had been invested in rifles, had bought ploughs and other agricultural implements instead, it would not have been better for Kansas? This question roused the old man, and he replied with ringing ardor, reviewing the history of Kansas with brevity but clearness, to show how preposterous was the thought that anything but rifles could have made the holding of plows possible.

After this conversation he desired a contribution—which was made.

He put up at the United States Hotel and had there several levees of the friends of Kansas I believe.

Some further notices of him at this time may be found in Redpath's Life of John Brown p 190–192: a very clumsy piece of work, but earnest enough not to make me ashamed of it. Written in three weeks, under intense excitement, before the materials for such a book were at hand, it has many errors, which I will note for you in a copy you can keep for the reference of any one who may feel called on to try to write *the* Biography of this great man.

Since Victor Hugo has ventured to eulogize what the classical school might call a filthy phrase, I will put on record one answer of John Brown's, precisely similar.

I had come from an AntiSlavery Convention where Wendell Phillips had delivered an eloquent speech. I praised it to "old Brown", as we all called him, in walking along Chauncey St. He asserted with great vehemence that all this talking amounted to nothing, but on the contrary did injury to the cause; that conscientious people were deceived by it—that is, that their consciences would not permit them to do nothing for the slave, and they did this, which, however, amounted to nothing; that the AntiSlavery Cause had not been advanced by it, etc. He walked along nodding his head by way of emphasis to these opinions, until he got to the back door of the Hotel, where we stood still talking—he, talking—a few minutes. I quoted one eloquent sentence that Phillips had uttered and combatted his views. When I had finished the sentence he said—

"Well, if it wasn't vulgar, I would say to that as the boys say—*'Oh! shit'* "

I cannot recollect what the sentence was, nor is it necessary. Probably Carlyle could reproduce Victor Hugo's eulogy of Cambronne without the sentence.

The Captain returned to Boston in April, and then left with Dr. Webb (he kept a copy himself however) *Old Brown's Farewell* (see Life pp. 195) one of his most characteristic writings.

In January he had three daguerreotypes of himself taken—one, he gave to Dr. Webb, one to Amos A. Lawrence, one to me. I had asked him for one; he expressed a reluctance to sit; but, on leaving, he handed it to me, saying that he gave it because I had "been very kind" to him.

I think that the one he gave me (now yours) was decidedly the most striking likeness; enabling one to read his character more easily than those subsequently taken, although they—those with the beard—will probably be the historical portraits. The original photograph of the standing figure is now in Dr. Webb's possession. He can give you a history of it. You could easily get copies of his different originals and of that of Amos A. Lawrence.

There is still another portrait *without* the beard, (it can be found in *Richard* Webb's "Life") which was taken when he was one of the firm of "Perkins & Brown, Wool Factors".

The best portrait, beyond all comparison, of the Captain as he appeared just before he went to Harper's Ferry is a full length oil painting—life-size—by Onthank, which was photographed on canvas and then painted. The artist adopted all the suggestions made by Wendell Phillips, Mrs. Brown, John Jr., other younger children of the Captain whom I took to see it, and succeeded in making an admirable likeness. It was bought by Thaddeus Hyatt and in his name I presented it to "The People of Hayti", through President Geffrard. The artist made another copy, which Mr. Phillips pronounced better than the first; but I have not seen it. An effort was made to buy it for presentation in the Athenæum; you know whether it was successful or not.

Now that my hand is in, let me refer to Brackett's bust. It is a failure. It may be—is—a fine head; but it is not John Brown's. There is a philosophical repose about it—the calmness, I mean, of a man of thought—that may remind, they say it has reminded, them of Moses; but it was not such a calmness that John Brown wore. I cannot describe the impression he made better than by calling it the quiet of *intensity;* of a dreadfully-in-earnest mind not yet ready to strike, although eager to give the blow. There was a feeling of the presence of great bulk, *living* bulk; but *not* breadth. There has been a great deal of humbug put to paper about this bust—not all sincere, I fear.

It just occurs to me what Edmund Quincy said of Brackett's bust of Phillips, subsequently made. I told him that it pained me to visit Brackett's studio; I thought he expected me to praise his busts, but I could not conscientiously do so. Phillips' bust was an animated figure; but—I did not like it. "Yes," he said, "it has only one fault.—it is not like him."

Brackett is the reverse of Onthank: Onthank gladly received every suggestion, Brackett would take none. Brackett has made a head "founded on fact". Onthank has drawn a portrait wonderfully correct.

It is worthy of mention that Brackett (he told the story) some years before, in 1857 probably, saw John Brown in the street, did not know him, but noticing how fine a head he had as a model for a bust, turned back and followed him. He did not say that he spoke with him at the time; or, if he did, I do not remember it.

Very Truly Your friend,
James Redpath

The earliest portrait in date is the daguerreotype reproduced as the frontispiece to Richard D. Webb's *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown,* published in London by Smith, Elder and Company in 1861. Redpath claims that this was taken during the period of Brown's partnership in the firm of Perkins and Brown, wool factors, in Springfield, Massachusetts. The firm's office was opened in 1846, and the partnership was broken late in 1850, although the final winding up of the business was delayed by litigation with customers for several years.

The next in sequence appears to be one of the two Athenæum daguerreotypes, given to the library a few years ago by Miss Sally Fairchild. An engraving from this was reproduced as the frontispiece to Joseph Edgar Chamberlin's *John Brown,* published in the Beacon Biographies series in 1899. There it is stated that it was taken in Kansas about 1856, but the source of this date is not indicated. Miss Fairchild knows only that her mother, Mrs. Charles Fairchild, inherited it from *her* mother, Mrs. Abbott Nelson, of Concord, who was active in abolitionist circles. How Mrs. Nelson obtained it is not certain, although Miss Fairchild suspects that it was a gift from John Brown.

Redpath mentions three daguerreotypes taken in Boston in 1857. The one which Brown gave him, and which he in turn gave to the Boston Athenæum, is here reproduced photographically for the first time. The steel engraving of it, which serves as frontispiece to Redpath's *Life,* entirely fails to convey the force of the original. The second portrait, which Brown gave to Amos A. Lawrence, was reproduced by Bishop Lawrence in 1932.[11] It suggests the hand of the retoucher. Where the third daguerreotype, given to Dr. Thomas H. Webb, may be, I have been unable to discover.

The large Athenæum oil portrait of Brown by Nahum B. Onthank shows the beard, which Amos Lawrence remarked on during Brown's 1859 visit to Boston. A photograph was made by J. W. Black in May, 1859, and an enlargement to life size projected upon canvas, which Onthank then painted. Although artistically not a praiseworthy technique, this is an early instance of photographic aid to oil portraiture.

Even if Redpath thought highly of Onthank's portrait, and had little good to say of E. A. Brackett's marble bust of Brown, the bust was extravagantly admired in its day. Frank Preston Stearns, son of Brown's great partisan George L. Stearns, compares the head to the Phidian Zeus, and indicates that Charles Sumner likened it to Michael

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[11] On the verso of the copy given to the Boston Athenæum by Bishop Lawrence is a note in his hand reading:

Boston, January 10, 1932

When a small boy I recall hearing my father say, "John Brown came into my office today and I told him to have his picture taken. He may be famous some day."

This photograph was on our table at Longwood for many years and then disappeared. Some weeks ago it turned up among some papers. This is one of a few Copley prints that I have had made of it.

For the relations of John Brown and my father, see the "Life of Amos A. Lawrence," publ. by Houghton Mifflin Co., 1888.

William Lawrence

This reproduction is not of a daguerreotype, but of a *carte-de-visite* photograph by J. J. Hawes. The extensive retouching almost converts John Brown from a wild man to a New England manufacturer serving as deacon of the local church. As Hawes often copied his own work, it seems entirely possible that he did this slicked-up likeness in 1881, the year of Amos A. Lawrence's note. It is unlikely that it antedates 1861, for before that year, when A. S. Southworth left the firm, the name of Southworth and Hawes was commonly used. I have had no success in locating the daguerreotype from which this copy was made.

Angelo's Moses! He further says that it was at first placed on exhibition among the busts of the Roman emperors in the Boston Athenæum, and Mrs. Brown, coming upon it there without previous intimation, recognized it and wept. He also claims that it made the Roman emperors look insignificant. Brackett, who had once seen John Brown in the street in Boston, hotfooted it to Charlestown, Virginia, in November, 1859, while Brown was in prison awaiting execution, and took the measurements for the bust, acting at the request of Mr. and Mrs. George L. Stearns. Frank Stearns, after mentioning the Emancipation Day celebration in the Music Hall on January 1, 1863, at which Emerson first read his "Boston Hymn," describes a party the same evening at his parents' house in Medford.

> All the prominent abolitionists and Free-soilers were invited, and those, like Dr. Howe, who were unable to attend, sent their wives and daughters. . . . Brackett's bust of John Brown was placed on the landing of the staircase, and Wendell Phillips unveiled it with a speech so graceful, exquisite, and timely, that it seemed more like a beautiful poem than a prose address. Emerson repeated his "Boston Hymn," and Mrs. Howe recited her "Battle Hymn" in a weird, penetrating voice, which affected the whole company.
>
> Emerson and Alcott remained over night, and talked philosophy with Mrs. Stearns until a late hour. J. B. Smith, a colored caterer, who made a fortune in providing class day entertainments at Harvard, would never send Mr. Stearns any account for this occasion; and was with difficulty persuaded to accept a cheque for a hundred dollars.[12]

After these flowing descriptions, it would seem that the Athenæum exhibition catalogues should mention Brackett's bust of John Brown, but they do not. The same sculptor's large group "The Shipwrecked Mother and Child" figures prominently for many years, although I find a sad little note by my predecessor Mr. Bolton[13] indicating that in the early years of the present century it was boxed and used as a seat, until 1908 when it was finally given back to Brackett, who palmed it off on the Worcester Art Museum. Frank Stearns mentions John Brown among the Roman emperors. Now a collection of these imperial likenesses, the property of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, of Boston, was exhibited at the Athenæum from 1861 to 1869. In the catalogue of the thirty-ninth exhibition of paintings and statuary, held in 1863, the last entry is: "362 Bust E. A. Brackett,"[14] with no subject indicated, although item 317 of the same catalogue is "Bust of Wendell Phillips. E. A. Brackett." Possibly Redpath's artistic criticism prevailed, and the cataloguer wished to say as little as possible about John Brown in marble. Possibly it came late and the printer was careless. Here at least is one bust that is *not* now in the Athenæum.

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[12] Stearns, *Stearns,* 194–195, 275–276. The bust, which is reproduced opposite page 194, was described in 1907 as "in the hall of Mr. Stearns's house in Medford, where it is destined to remain." It is now, however, in the possession of Miss Clara Endicott Sears, at The Pergolas, Harvard, Massachusetts. Miss Sears obtained it from Frank Sanborn.

[13] Charles Knowles Bolton, *Workers in Line and Color in New England, 1620–1870* (manuscript in Boston Athenæum), I. 69.

In 1953, five years after this paper was read, Mrs. Ropes Cabot gave the Boston Athenæum another portrait of John Brown, which is here reproduced for the first time. This is a pencil profile sketch, "taken," according to a note on the verso, "at the moment when J. B. was hearing his sentence in the Court House in Charlestown by the father of Dr. Eugene F. Cordell, formerly of 60th Virginia Infantry, C.S.A."[15]

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[14] *Catalogue of the thirty-ninth exhibition of paintings and statuary at the Athenæum Gallery, Beacon Street, Boston, 1863* (Boston, 1863), 20.

[15] Accompanying the sketch, which came to Mrs. Cabot from Miss Georgina Lowell, of 12 Fairfield Street, Boston, was a letter written by Dr. Cordell from 2032 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, on February 23, 1893, to an unidentified "Dear Sir" offering to sell the sketch and other Civil War mementoes.

The Magnanimity of Abraham Lincoln

F. Lauriston Bullard[1]

Magnanimity is a comprehensive word. It seems strange that few of the horde of people who have written on Lincoln have used this word to describe his greatness, although their eulogies have referred to many qualities which are components of it. Yet a standard dictionary found no better passage with which to illustrate the word than a quotation from the *Lincoln* of Nicolay and Hay—how in appointing Salmon P. Chase to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States "the President, in giving to his most powerful and most distinguished rival the greatest place which a President ever has it in his power to bestow, gave an exemplary proof of the magnanimity and generosity of his own spirit."[2]

One of the finest tributes to Lincoln by men who had known him well was that paid in the House of Representatives on his birthday in 1878. The occasion was the formal acceptance as a gift to the Congress from Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of Boston, of the painting by Francis Bicknell Carpenter known as "The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation." The speaker was Alexander Hamilton Stephens, former vice-president of the Confederacy, then serving as a representative from Georgia. Stephens spoke from a wheel chair. He told of his intimacy with Lincoln when they had served in the House together thirty years before. His characterization of his old friend was limited to a single sentence: "He was warm-hearted; he was generous; he was magnanimous . . . 'with malice towards none, with charity for all.'"[3]

In his last public address Lincoln said: "As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer."[4] He called nobody a liar; he founded no Ananias Club. He never called

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[1] This paper was read at the December, 1948, meeting.

[2] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), IX. 401–402.

[3] *Congressional Record*, 45th Congress, Second Session, 968–971.

[4] *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Editors, (New York, [1905]), XI. 85. Hereafter cited as *Complete Works*.

Negroes "niggers," common as the habit was in his time. But for the full expression of his greatness of character we must turn to the four years as President.

In 1849 Lincoln returned to his home in Illinois a disappointed and disillusioned, but not an embittered, man. He had worked well for the election of Zachary Taylor, but his speech in opposition to the Mexican War cost him a second term, for the war he attacked was popular in Illinois. Immediately after his defeat he had tried hard to obtain appointment to the very desirable office of commissioner of the Land Office, but that place was already promised elsewhere. The administration did not desert him, however; he was offered the governorship of Oregon, a territory destined in a few years to become a state. On September 27, 1849, he telegraphed his refusal.[5]

There was nothing left for him to do but to practise law, and, what was an extraordinary thing, "from 1849 to 1855" not only did he become "a hard student and read much," but he "studied Euclid and some [other] mathematical books."[6] He became a leader of the Illinois bar. During those years he gave less attention to political events, but he made up his mind that slavery had become a dangerously divisive issue between the North and South. In his famous Peoria speech of 1854, he declared: "Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism, and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow."[7]

Meanwhile, his law partner, William H. Herndon, saw to it that he should find on their office table whatever was said by such men as Joshua R. Giddings, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, William H. Seward, and Theodore Parker, and he is authority for the statement that "Lincoln and I took such papers as the Chicago *Tribune*, New York *Tribune*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Emancipator*, and *National Era*" and on "the other side . . . the Charleston *Mercury*, and the Richmond

[5] Albert J. Beveridge in *Abraham Lincoln: 1809–1858* (Boston and New York, 1928), I. 493, says that "the place was never offered to him," but his work was published too soon. The documentary evidence in the files of the Department of the Interior was published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII (December, 1936), 391–394. Beveridge had gone to the State Department.

[6] William H. Herndon in a letter of 1887 to Jesse W. Weik: Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln* (New York, 1938), 172.

[7] *Complete Works*, II. 238.

Enquirer."[8] Mrs. Lincoln received the *Southern Literary Messenger*, in which there appeared numerous notable articles by the leading public men of the South.[9] Doubtless he followed the debates over the Compromise of 1850. In his own autobiographical statement, written in the third person for a campaign biography, Lincoln stated: "In 1854 his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before."[10] The speech of October 16, 1854, at Peoria, revealed a new man. A little more than six years later he was President-Elect.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD

Lincoln's first task after his inauguration was to put Seward in his place. The New Yorker thought of himself as the leader of the new party now in power. As Secretary of State he fondly expected to act as prime minister and direct the major policies of the government. He allowed himself, without the authority or knowledge of the President, to promise a commission from the South three times in a period of eight days that Fort Sumter would be abandoned by the federal government, striving to prevent the outbreak of war by what he often described as a "soothing" policy. He had given assurances "in secret interviews, anonymous notes, and indirect intercourse . . . that could surely be fulfilled only in case he instead of Lincoln should control affairs."

Yet Lincoln was preparing to do precisely what Seward was determined should not be done. To hold Sumter would "humiliate him by making it plain that either he himself had been deceived or that he had tried to deceive others, and perhaps both."[11] Seward planned to evacuate Fort Sumter and "simultaneously" he would "defend and reinforce all the ports in the gulf." He would "demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once," and "seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention." If explanations did not arrive from Spain and France he would "convene Congress and declare war against them." Finally, "whatever policy we adopt" must be prosecuted with energy, and "it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly." If the President did not care to assume this responsibility, let him "devolve it on some member of his cabinet." Seward added: "I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility."[12]

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[8] William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, [1889]), II. 363.

[9] Beveridge, *Lincoln*, II. 30.

[10] *Complete Works*, VI. 37.

[11] Frederic Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward* (New York and London, 1900), II. 149 and 132.

On that same day Lincoln sent Seward a definite and dispassionate reply. His inaugural address contained a statement of policy which Seward at the time had approved, and orders had been given comprising "the exact domestic policy" urged now by the secretary "with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter." News had come on the preceding day regarding Santo Domingo which did bring "a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been [going forward] without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy." And then: whatever is done "I must do it," and upon debatable points "I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet."[13]

Seward was beaten, and he knew it. There is no record that the two men ever exchanged a word about these communications. The President appreciated Seward's qualifications for invaluable service. There was no sign of irritation in his calm reply. He put Seward's strange paper away carefully, and no other member of the Cabinet ever heard of it. Not until twenty-seven years later did Nicolay and Hay reveal these facts with the full text of the documents.[14] But Lincoln's work was only begun.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE

In 1874, the secretary of Salmon P. Chase recorded that "in the very heat" of the "estrangement which had arisen" between Lincoln and his Secretary of the Treasury the President had said: "Of all the great men I have ever known, Chase is equal to about one and a half of the best of them."[15] For a long time Chase had been known as the leader of the anti-slavery movement in Ohio. During his second term as governor he became an active candidate for the presidential nomination in 1860. Not until the opening of the Chicago convention does he seem to have given much serious thought to Lincoln as a rival contestant.

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[12] *Complete Works,* VI. 234–236.

[13] *Ibid.,* 236–237.

[14] *The Century Magazine,* XXXV (February, 1888), 615–616.

[15] J. W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (New York, 1874), 488.

Chase was unquestionably a great Secretary of the Treasury, but Chase himself was quite too well aware of the fact. He seems never to have understood Lincoln. How could any man read to his Cabinet from Artemus Ward as a prelude to announcing his plan for the Emancipation Proclamation? Chase thought of the Cabinet as a consultative body; whereas Lincoln had formed the disconcerting habit of making up his own mind and stating the results as definitive. Chase became censorious and sometimes spiteful. On August 29, 1862, he wrote to a friend in Cincinnati: ". . . . Since the incoming of General Halleck I have known but little more of the progress of the war than any outsider.—I mean so far as influencing it goes. My recommendations, before he came in, were generally disregarded, and since have been seldom ventured."[16]

To another correspondent he declared: ". . . I should be very well satisfied with this state of things, if I saw the war prosecuted with vigor and success. I am only dissatisfied with it because I cannot help thinking that if my judgment had more weight, it would be so prosecuted."[17] The state of his mind is most clearly indicated by an entry in his diary on September 11, 1862: "Ten days of battle and then such changes,—changes in which it is difficult to see the public good! How singularly all our worst defeats have followed Administrative co—no, blunders!"[18]

In a letter of November 26, 1863, Chase affirmed his doubt of "the expediency of reëlecting anybody," and expressed the opinion that "a man of different qualities from those the President has will be needed for the next four years." He added that he could never permit himself "to be driven into any hostile or unfriendly position as to Mr. Lincoln," nor could he "consent to any thing which he himself could or would consider as incompatible with perfect honor and good faith."[19] Albert Bushnell Hart was of the opinion that when Chase allowed his candidacy to be known the idea "that his canvass showed disloyalty to Lincoln did not enter his mind."[20] Another verdict seems more reasonable. Although Chase was so governed by his ambition that he may have been insensitive to the ethics of the situation, to say nothing of the obligations of courtesy, it is inconceivable, in spite of his lack of a sense of humor and imagination, that he should not have perceived the dishonesty of his position in 1863 and 1864.

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[16] Schuckers, *Chase*, 443: Letter to William M. Dickson.

[17] Alonzo Rothschild, *Lincoln: Master of Men* (Boston and New York, 1906), 176.

[18] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1902* (Washington, 1903), II. 74.

It was evident that no such relation could long continue. Between December 17, 1862, and June 29, 1864, Chase had resigned his post at least four, and perhaps five, times. In the main the matters at issue involved patronage. It was a question of this kind that produced the final separation. On that June day the President surprised the secretary by accepting his expression of willingness, if not of desire, to quit. Professor Hart's view was that Chase assumed that Lincoln would "put the resignation through the usual course of remonstrance, argument, and recall," and the biographer cited the passage in Chase's diary in which his

> anger and disappointment are too frankly recorded. . . . I had found a good deal of embarrassment from him; but what he had found from me I could not imagine, unless it has been caused by my unwillingness to have offices distributed as spoils or benefits, with more regard to the claims of divisions, factions, cliques, and individuals, than to fitness of selection. He had never given me the active and earnest support I was entitled to.[21]

Then, at long last, Taney died on October 12, 1864. In mid-December the President filled the vacancy. He spent hours studying the problem. Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, is understood to have told him that he "could well afford to overlook the harsh and indecorous things which Chase had said of him. . . ." Lincoln replied that he cared nothing about such things.[22] To George S. Boutwell he made an interesting and fairly complete statement about the claims of Chase for the great office. He said,

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[19] Schuckers, *Chase*, 494–495. The letter is addressed to his new son-in-law, ex-Governor William Sprague, of Rhode Island.

[20] Albert Bushnell Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase* (Boston and New York, [1899]), 310.

[21] *Ibid.*, 317–318.

[22] Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, IX. 393–394.

> There are three reasons in favor of his appointment, and one very strong reason against it. First, he occupies the largest place in the public mind in connection with the office, then we wish for a Chief Justice who will sustain what has been done in regard to emancipation and the legal tenders. We cannot ask a man what he will do, and if we should, and he should answer us, we should despise him for it. Therefore we must take a man whose opinions are known. But there is one very strong reason against his appointment. He is a candidate for the Presidency, and if he does not give up that idea it will be very bad for him and very bad for me.[23]

Although Chase became a great judge, he was still a candidate for the presidency as late as 1868. Yet politics did not sway his decisions.

On December 6, 1864, Lincoln wrote the nomination with his own hand, appending the rare full signature "Abraham Lincoln."[24] On that same day Chase sent him a handsome note of thanks. He would "never forget," and he trusted that the President would "never regret." Charles Warren alludes to Lincoln's "magnanimously overlooking all personal considerations," adding that "no better illustration of Lincoln's high-mindedness and nobility of soul can be found than in this nomination."[25]

EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON

The story of the first meeting of Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton has been told many times, and with many variations. The Illinois lawyer had been retained for the defense in what is commonly called "the Reaper Case," the action brought by Cyrus H. McCormick against John H. Manny and others. The plaintiff had obtained numerous patents on the harvesting machine which he had invented, and the business had become so profitable that other companies had undertaken the manufacture of more or less similar machines. Manny had a factory in operation in an Illinois town not far from Chicago, where McCormick had established himself. McCormick brought suit against *Manny et al.* in the United States District Court for infringement of his patents. This was regarded as a test case, and the ablest patent lawyers in the country were retained: for the plaintiff

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[23] George S. Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs* (New York, 1902), II. 29.

[24] Schuckers, *Chase,* opposite page 513: facsimile.

[25] Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (Boston, 1926), II. 404 and 405.

Edward M. Dickerson of New York and for the defendants George Harding of Philadelphia. For the forensics, the eminent Reverdy Johnson of Maryland and Stanton were selected.

Manny deemed it advisable to employ also a local attorney whose acquaintanceships and influence might be valuable, and his choice fell on Lincoln, to whom he sent the largest retainer the latter had ever received. On account of its exceptional importance the case was transferred to the Circuit Court at Cincinnati, where it was tried before John McLean of the United States Supreme Court, with Judge Thomas Drummond of the Chicago Court sitting as associate. Lincoln had prepared his argument with care, and was looking forward with much eagerness and anxiety to entering the lists against the redoubtable Reverdy Johnson. He was not allowed to speak, and sat in the court room as a spectator. In January, 1856, McLean handed down a long technical opinion in favor of the defendants.

As to these basic facts there is no disagreement, nor does anybody doubt that the prairie lawyer endured some degree of humiliation at the trial. While staying in Cincinnati he lived at the home of William M. Dickson, whose wife was related to Mrs. Lincoln. To the cordial invitation of his hostess to come again, he replied: "You have made my stay here most agreeable, and I am a thousand times obliged to you; but . . . I must say to you that I never expect to be in Cincinnati again. I have nothing against the city, but things have so happened here as to make it undesirable for me ever to return."[26]

What, in fact, did happen? Did Lincoln hear the gruff-voiced Stanton in an adjoining room, declaiming about "that long-armed creature," and "what can he expect to do in this case"?[27] Miss Ida M. Tarbell, more than forty years after the event, obtained a long, written statement from Mr. Harding. He related that McCormick "had selected Mr. Reverdy Johnson for the forensic part of his case," and that when all the parties met in Cincinnati "Mr. Lincoln was first definitely informed" of a decision that Mr. Stanton was to perform the similar duty for the defendants, leaving the technical arguments, of course, to the patent experts; also that "Mr. Lincoln, kindly and gracefully, but regretfully, accepted the situation."[28]

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[26] W. M. Dickson, in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LXIX (June, 1884), 62.

[27] Herndon and Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, II. 356.

[28] Ida M. Tarbell, "Lincoln's Important Law Cases": *McClure's Magazine*, VII (August,

A specialist in patent law who died in 1927 "carefully wrote out" a somewhat different account for Albert J. Beveridge in 1923 which that biographer used as an authority. Robert Henry Parkinson in 1876 was associated with Harding in a patent case which was tried in Nashville, and his statement contains the story as Harding told it to him at that time. The Tarbell narrative is smoother and more circumspect, but the memory of Parkinson seems more convincing. He told how Harding first saw Lincoln as "a tall, rawly boned, ungainly backwoodsman, with coarse, ill-fitting clothing, his trousers hardly reaching his ankles, holding in his hands a blue cotton umbrella with a ball on the end of the handle. . . . we barely exchanged salutations with him, and I proposed to Stanton that he and I go up to the court." Lincoln suggested that they "go up in a gang." In an aside Stanton said: "Let that fellow go with his gang. We'll walk up together." This they did.

The two attorneys for McCormick saw a possible chance to obtain an advantage, for there were three against them; so Johnson suavely informed the court of their willingness that the defendants should have three advocates provided Dickerson be allowed to speak twice. Stanton vehemently objected, intimating plainly that Lincoln was expected to withdraw. This was Lincoln's tip. And Harding added that McLean gave "counsel on both sides" a dinner at his home to which Lincoln was not invited, and that they left for home "without saying good-bye to him."[29] The version most frequently told of how Lincoln was "frozen out" is stated succinctly by Carl Sandburg, although he does not refer to his authority. Having told the court that only two arguments would be made, "He suggested to Lincoln that he should speak. Lincoln answered, 'No, you speak.' Stanton replied, 'I will,' and picking up his hat said he would go and prepare his speech." When Lincoln sent a manuscript to Harding, he "threw it into a wastebasket without reading it."[30] More than once Stanton derisively alluded to Lincoln as an ape, a giraffe, and a baboon.

Lincoln was more sensitive than he seemed, but he behaved him-

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1896), 274–275; also, Ida M. Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1900), I. 261–263.

[29] Beveridge, *Lincoln*, I. 577*n.* and 579–580. See, also, *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, IV (September, 1946), containing an extended article by Robert Henry Parkinson on "The Patent Case that Lifted Lincoln into a Presidential Candidate."

[30] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York, [1926]), II. 42.

self like a gentleman. Manny had a business partner named Ralph Emerson, who knew Lincoln well. In 1909 he and Mrs. Emerson printed their recollections of their friend. Both Beveridge and Parkinson made use of the portion which Mr. Emerson wrote. He was present at the trial, and related how intently Lincoln watched the proceedings, and that at the end he said: "I am going home to study law," and again: "I do occupy a good position" at the Illinois bar, "but these college trained men who have devoted their whole lives to study are coming west don't you see? They study on a single case perhaps for months, as we never do."[31]

Writers differ also as to the fee Lincoln received. Tarbell says the retainer was five hundred dollars and the total nearly two thousand dollars. Beveridge found the amount to be "unknown." Parkinson quotes a Boston lawyer as having learned from Harding that "Lincoln was paid several thousand dollars, a most extraordinary fee for him."[32] Albert A. Woldman placed the amount at twenty-five hundred dollars, the second largest fee he ever received.[33] Dr. Harry E. Pratt, author of the best study ever made of Lincoln's finances, records, with sources carefully noted, that the retainer was four hundred dollars, and that the total amount is not definitely known, but that the tradition in the Emerson family is that the supplementary check was for six hundred dollars, making the entire amount an even thousand. According to the Emersons, Lincoln returned the check because he felt he had not earned it, but it came back to Springfield promptly, with the assurance of Manny's legal adviser, Peter H. Watson, that he was entitled to the full fee.[34]

These details are typical of the conflicts of testimony with which all Lincoln students must contend, even when they use only secondary sources. Confusion becomes worse confounded when they seek the original authorities. Ardent admirers of Lincoln have remembered things that never happened, and have embellished actual facts. Lincoln's value in this lawsuit was greatly reduced when the trial was shifted from Chicago to Cincinnati, where he was practically unknown. It is not strange that the gentlemen from the East did not regard him with favor. Stanton, moreover, was utterly devoid of tact. In the statement he prepared for Miss Tarbell, Harding admits that "Mr. Lincoln . . . undoubtedly did not receive the attention which he should have received," declaring at the same time that "Stanton, of his own motion," did not displace him, but did only what his client directed him to do. He added that the story demonstrates "the nobility of Mr. Lincoln's character in forgetting all unkind personal feeling engendered at Cincinnati towards Mr. Stanton, and subsequently appointing him his Secretary of War."[35]

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[31] *Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson's Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Rockford, Illinois, 1909), 7.

[32] *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* IV (September, 1946), 110.

[33] Albert A. Woldman, *Lawyer Lincoln* (Boston and New York, 1936), 213.

[34] Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Illinois, 1943), 55–56.

Just why Lincoln chose Stanton to succeed Simon Cameron as Secretary of War is still a question. According to one of Stanton's biographers: "It was wise in Mr. Lincoln to call into his Cabinet . . . a Union Democrat of Mr. Stanton's character and reputation. Through such a representative man the whole body of Union Democrats in the country would soon learn whether it was a Republican President or a Democratic general who was inviting political and financial disaster, and foreign intervention, by a failure to use the army which the uprising of a great people had provided to crush out the rebellion."[36] Nicolay and Hay, relying in part on the diary of Secretary Chase, indicate that Seward, Chase, and Cameron agreed that "the fittest successor in the War Department would be Stanton," and that "each of them was impressed with the belief that he alone was the chief agency in bringing about the change." The President's biographers go on to say, however, that "a stronger will and a yet more delicate tact had inspired and guided them all," meaning Lincoln.[37] Another of Stanton's biographers held that his "call to the War Office was . . . sudden and unexpected."[38]

Others tell a different story, General McClellan for one. In that lamentable work published after his death as a matter of family pride, what purports to be the general's own statement is that Stanton did not accept the position without consulting him. "He said that acceptance would involve very great personal sacrifices on his part, and that the only possible inducement would be that he might have it in his power to aid me in the work of putting down the rebellion; that he was willing to devote all his time, intellect, and energy to my assistance, and that together we could soon bring the war to an end. If I wished him to accept he would do so. . . . I told him that I hoped he would accept the position." Then, on the same page, we read: "Soon after Mr. Stanton became Secretary of War it became clear that, without any reason known to me, our relations had completely changed. . . . he threw every obstacle in my way, and did all in his power to create difficulty and distrust between the President and myself."[39]

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[35] Tarbell, *Lincoln*, I. 263 and 264. Stanton's formal biographers practically ignore this case.

[36] George C. Gorham, *Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton* (Boston and New York, 1899), I. 239.

[37] Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, V. 129.

[38] Frank Abial Flower, *Edwin McMasters Stanton, The Autocrat of Rebellion, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Akron, Ohio, New York, and Chicago, 1905), 117.

Evidence from recent and scrupulously careful historians casts suspicion on these statements.

> [A] more probable explanation of Stanton's selection for the War portfolio lies in the story of his unceasing and oleaginous efforts to secure the post. Oddly enough, though a critic of the administration, Stanton early in 1861 managed to get himself appointed legal adviser to Cameron. Thereafter no course was too tortuous for him to follow in supplanting his chief. Not only did he studiously ingratiate himself with the radicals but with every influential person and group whom he thought he could manipulate in support of his candidacy. His gift for being all things to all men was never more brilliantly demonstrated, and the number of discordant factions and groups he was able to line up in support of his candidacy seems almost unbelievable.[40]

Another writer portrays Stanton as fully capable of such intrigues, pronouncing him to have been "as devious a conniver as American public life has produced."[41] A third writer holds that we shall never know "just through whose instrumentality Stanton did attain his goal. . . . The ejected Minister of War [Cameron] had signed his death warrant when he surreptitiously inserted in his annual report a recommendation for arming slaves which directly contravened Lincoln's policy at the time. Lincoln was unaware that Stanton had endorsed this act; that, as there is some reason to suppose, he had even instigated the whole transaction."[42]

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[39] George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story: The War for the Union, The Soldiers Who Fought It, The Civilians Who Directed It, and His Relations to It and to Them* (New York, 1887), 153. Cited hereafter as *McClellan's Own Story*.

[40] Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), 133.

[41] David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven and London, 1942), 259.

Stanton's character remains something of an enigma. He was not above playing the spy while serving as Buchanan's Attorney General. His defenders contend that he was providing Seward and others with information of value for the incoming administration. When that administration did come in, he furnished Buchanan information to its discredit. For several months in his letters to Wheatland he indulged in severe criticism of "the imbecile" conduct of public affairs and of Lincoln as a man and an executive. The President could hardly have been ignorant of what was going on; yet he sent Stanton's name to the Senate.[43]

In the ensuing years Lincoln had ample opportunity to learn the complexities of Stanton's character. As an administrator he was of enormous value. He worked with the velocity, if not the smoothness, of a dynamo, getting rid of corrupt contractors, tolerating neither laziness nor dishonesty in the War Department, and putting troops, munitions, and supplies into the field—irascible and tender by turns, unswerving in his devotion to the Union. The estimates of certain writers of the old school are informative. For James Schouler, a half-century ago, Stanton was "a man of flaming patriotism, of tremendous vigor and energy." His intelligence was "quick," his judgment "swift and often too hasty." He was a man of "great virtues . . . hedged in among glaring faults." But "things military moved with system and vehemence."[44] General Jacob Cox allowed that

> Mr. Stanton's habit of impetuous action without reflection, upon first impressions and imperfect knowledge, was notorious, as was his constitutional inability to admit that he had been in the wrong. Once aroused, he was a fierce combatant, using any weapon that came to hand, inquiring only whether it would hurt his opponent. When obliged to see that he had judged wrongly, his silence was the only confession: he was seldom equal to a candid apology.[45]

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[42] Burton J. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Boston, 1946), 262 and 236.

[43] See Potter, *Lincoln and His Party*, 259; also, "A Page of Political Correspondence," letters of Stanton to Buchanan, in *The North American Review*, No. 276 (November, 1879), 473–483.

[44] James Schouler, *History of the United States of America, under the Constitution* (New York, [1899]), VI. 159 and 161.

[45] Jacob Dolson Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), II. 508.

He often irritated Lincoln, and Lincoln repeatedly infuriated him. Their contacts, of course, were frequent. Nearly every day the President strode over to the War Department, more often to go over the telegrams from the front than to see the Secretary. Less frequently, Stanton came to the White House. They exchanged notes incessantly. One wonders if any other President could have managed to get along with such an official in such a post. In no other relation did Lincoln's ability to see the humorous side of things serve him better; but there was no humor in the fanatical Stanton.

Scores of stories are told about the two, some of them authentic in all details, and most of them reliable in substance. As to Stanton's impetuosity and fits of bad temper, a single instance will suffice. Owen Lovejoy, a member of Congress from Illinois, heading a committee from the West, obtained a certain order from the President which he carried to the Secretary. He was met with "a flat refusal" to obey the order. To the protestations that Lincoln himself had signed it, Stanton snapped back: "Then he is a d----d fool." The bewildered Lovejoy returned to the White House. The President listened, reflected, and then said: "If Stanton said I was a d----d fool, then I must be one, for he is nearly always right, and generally means what he says. I will step over and see him."[46] Lincoln did not always pursue so conciliatory a policy. In any direct clash of wills over the principle or the expediency of an action or policy, the President is known to have directed the Cabinet officer once and again, in a tone that may not have been peremptory but was firm, that he must obey, although he also took pains to spare the Secretary humiliation.[47]

In spite of his prejudices, Stanton in time came to see and to admit the mental and moral stature of the President. He no longer reviled him. When Lincoln went down to City Point as the end of the war drew near, and was about to visit Petersburg, Stanton telegraphed a warning: "Allow me respectfully to ask you to consider whether you ought to expose the nation to the consequence of any disaster to yourself in the pursuit of a treacherous and dangerous enemy."[48]

On the morning that Lincoln died, surrounded by a cluster of grief-stricken friends and officials, Stanton is understood to have spoken the sentence now lettered in gold above his grave. There are those who doubt, and those who deny that he uttered the words ascribed to him. Yet among those in the little room stood John Hay. His statement should be accepted: "Stanton broke the silence by saying, 'Now he belongs to the ages.'"[49]

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[46] George W. Julian, *Political Recollections 1840 to 1872* (Chicago, 1884), 211–212.

[47] An outstanding example may be found in Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln,* v. 145–147.

[48] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, XLVI, Part III. 509. Cited hereafter as *Rebellion Records.*

GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN

Discussion of the intrigues which ended in the deposition of General McClellan from the command of the army he had disciplined and drilled is still under way. Without question he was a master of organization. Not only did he teach his troops the necessity of obedience but he won their enthusiastic devotion to himself. Lincoln, having given him the command of the troops in Washington on July 27, 1861, after the first Bull Run, trusted him, deferred to him, and provided him with the men and munitions he asked for. When in late October "the wild howl of the summer" for a battle was renewed, Lincoln "stood up for McClellan's deliberateness."[50]

As the months slipped by, however, he became increasingly impatient with a commander who seemed always to underestimate his own forces and to overestimate the forces of the enemy. He developed what the President called "the slows," and lost opportunities by delay, although when he did fight he fought well. Five days after the battle of Antietam, for example, McClellan wrote to his wife: "I look upon this campaign as substantially ended, and my present intention is to seize Harper's Ferry and hold it with a strong force; then go to work and reorganize the army ready for another campaign." Yet he did not begin to transfer his army across the Potomac until thirty-nine days after Antietam.[51]

McClellan's widow made the unfortunate mistake of publishing his *Own Story*, a work which has influenced, and in some instances has determined, the opinions of the students of his career. The volume contains numerous private letters to his wife. He wrote to her nearly every day, and always with startling frankness. These letters did nobody any harm at the time, but they reveal several important aspects of McClellan's character and the difficulty in dealing with a general who was seldom if ever satisfied with the equipment he had and who regarded differences of opinion as personal affronts. So, in November, 1861, he wrote:

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[49] Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, x. 302.

[50] Tyler Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 31.

[51] *McClellan's Own Story*, 614 and 645.

> I have been at work all day nearly on a letter to the Secretary of War (Cameron) in regard to future military operations. I have not been at home for some three hours, but am concealed at Stanton's to dodge all enemies in shape of "browsing" Presidents, etc. . . . The paper is a very important one, as it is intended to place on record that I have left nothing undone to make this army what it ought to be, and that the necessity for delay has not been my fault. I have a set of men to deal with unscrupulous and false. . . . I am thwarted and deceived by these incapables at every turn.

On May 3, 1862, he wrote: "I feel that the fate of a nation depends upon me, and I feel that I have not one single friend at the seat of government." At midnight on May 18: ". . . Those hounds in Washington are after me again." And on May 23: "I am here on the eve of one of the great historic battles of the world—one of those crises in a nation's life that occur but seldom." Then on June 11: "I *must* be careful, for it would be utter destruction to this army were I to be disabled so as not to be able to take command." On June 22 he referred to the "insane folly behind me," and on the twenty-eighth he wired Mrs. McClellan: "This army has acted magnificently. I thank my friends in Washington for our repulse."

After ten days he wrote his wife about the letter to Lincoln which his critics called "the Harrison's Landing Manifesto," saying: "I have written a strong, frank letter to the President, which I send by your father. If he acts upon it the country will be saved." And after another week: "I feel that I did my duty in writing it, though I apprehend it will do no good whatever; but it clears my conscience to have spoken plainly at such a time." In early September, a few days after the second battle of Bull Run, McClellan went so far as to write his wife that Pope and McDowell "have done all they could (unintentionally, I hope) to ruin and destroy the country." And on October 1 he found occasion to allude again to "the gigantic intellects at the head of the government." It is a comfort to find him writing, not without dignity, on November 7: "I have done the best I could for my country; to the last I have done my duty as I understand it. That I must have made many mistakes I cannot deny. I do not see any great blunders; but no one can judge of himself."[52]

The President from time to time sent messages to the general which disclose his misgivings and growing impatience. He concluded a long letter of April 9, 1862, with these carefully measured sentences: "I beg to assure you that I have never written you, or spoken to you, in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment, I consistently can. *But you must act.*"[53] McClellan, on October 2, wrote to his wife about Lincoln's visit at headquarters: "His ostensible purpose is to see the troops and the battle-field [of Antietam]; I incline to think that the real purpose of his visit is to push me into a premature advance into Virginia. . . . The real truth is that my army is not fit to advance." One notes with satisfaction that in a letter written three days later the general said: "The President . . . was very affable, and I really think he does feel very kindly towards me personally."[54] On October 13, however, Lincoln sent him another warning: "Are you not overcautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing?"[55] Mrs. McClellan was informed by a letter of October 25 that the general knew there was "much impatience throughout the country for a move," and that he was himself "just as anxious as any one," but that he was "crippled by want of horses." On that same day, as it happened, Lincoln allowed himself a "little fling," to use a term that the general employed, by telegraphing an inquiry as to what the "cavalry had done since the battle of Antietam to fatigue anything."[56]

Three incidents illustrate Lincoln's treatment of McClellan. All that we really know about the first may be found in the diary of John Hay under the date November 13, 1861. This must be quoted in full.

> I wish here to record what I consider a portent of evil to come. The President, Governor Seward, and I, went over to McClellan's house tonight. The

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[52] *McClellan's Own Story*, 176–177, 317, 359, 396, 403, 407, 442, 444–445, 449, 568, 617, and 660.

[53] *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings*, Roy P. Basler, Editor, (Cleveland and New York, [1946]), 639. In *McClellan's Own Story*, 278, the last sentence is not italicized.

[54] *McClellan's Own Story*, 654 and 655.

[55] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XIX, Part I. 13.

[56] *McClellan's Own Story*, 655 and 656.

> servant at the door said the General was at the wedding of Colonel Wheaton at General Buell's, and would soon return. We went in, and after we had waited about an hour, McClellan came in and without paying any particular attention to the porter, who told him the President was waiting to see him, went up stairs, passing the door of the room where the President and Secretary of State were seated. They waited about half-an-hour, and sent once more a servant to tell the General they were there, and the answer coolly came that the General had gone to bed.

Hay concluded his account with these brief statements:

> I merely record this unparalleled insolence of epaulettes without comment. It is the first indication I have yet seen of the threatened supremacy of the military authorities. Coming home I spoke to the President about the matter but he seemed not to have noticed it, specially, saying it was better at this time not to be making points of etiquette and personal dignity.[57]

The most recent biographer of General McClellan is fully justified in saying that "if this story were not told by a person of such truth and integrity as John Hay, it hardly could be believed," but his attempted extenuation reads like special pleading.[58] Lincoln, McClellan thought, was ignorant of the rules of polite society: the general could not "stand him." On October 2, 1861, he included in a letter to his wife an expression of his contempt for the administration; he was "becoming daily more disgusted," and "perfectly sick of it."[59] Other letters indicate the condescension with which the sophisticated soldier looked upon the backwoodsman. If he deemed it beneath the dignity of a President to call in person upon the general in command of all the armies, the rank to which he had been advanced on November 1, he found nothing at which to cavil in Lincoln's visiting his house on that night, nor in his going there again on November 11, the night of the torchlight procession by Blenker's German regiment, in honor of that promotion.[60] The suggestion that it would be interesting to know what refreshments were served at the wedding which McClellan attended on the evening of the thirteenth indicates a plausible explanation of the general's bad manners, although it falls short of exculpation.[61]

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[57] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 34–35.

[58] William Starr Myers, *General George Brinton McClellan* (New York, 1934), 398.

[59] *McClellan's Own Story*, 168.

[60] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 32 and 34. In the diary Hay spells Blenker's name erroneously.

The second of our three events took place on September 2, 1862, shortly after the smashing defeat of the Union army, then commanded by General Pope, at the second Bull Run. Once more a demoralized army was straggling back to Washington. McClellan's record is that while he was at breakfast the President and General Halleck came to his house, and that Lincoln "asked me if I would, under the circumstances, as a favor to him, resume command and do the best that could be done." He accepted at once and said he would stake his life on his ability to save the capital from capture by Lee's army. The President "verbally" placed him "in entire command of the city and of the troops falling back upon it from the front."[62] An important addition to this outline of the facts may be found in the diary of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Cabinet met that day. Lincoln told what he had done, without consulting the Secretary of War, or anybody but Halleck. Chase deplored the choice. A big job had to be done, but Hooker, Burnside, or Edwin Vose Sumner—any of them—would have been a better appointment for the emergency. Stanton was furious. "The President said it distressed him exceedingly to find himself differing on such a point from the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury; that he would gladly resign his plan; but he could not see who could do the work wanted as well as McClellan." This is an outstanding instance of Lincoln's confidence in his own judgment and of his determination to act upon it, in spite of any and all opposition.[63] His judgment was vindicated. McClellan performed his greatest service by stopping Lee at Antietam—and then "the slows" overwhelmed the general again, and he was finally removed from command.

The Library of Congress displays from time to time a Lincoln note which is one of the most extraordinary papers ever penned by a President. It is dated August 23, 1864, and reads:

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[61] J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (New York, 1945), II. 72.

[62] *McClellan's Own Story*, 535.

[63] *Report of the American Historical Association ... 1902*, II. 64–65. The authority of this entry is not challenged, although it is written in the hand of a professional scribe, but the word "plan" often has been read as "place," implying that Lincoln was ready to resign the Presidency. It might be so read if the two final strokes in the word did not carry above them a horizontal line, the regular mark for the guidance of proofreaders and printers—an overscore for "n," and an underscore for "u."

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reelected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterwards. A. LINCOLN

On the back of this small bit of note paper appear the signatures of the seven members of the Cabinet.[64]

That forecast reflected opinions widely held throughout the North. Grant was hammering away before Petersburg. Sherman was advancing very slowly through Georgia. The Lincoln policies were denounced bitterly by the Radicals in Congress. In mid-July, General Early had been within sight of the capitol. The people were weary of war. The government was calling for more men and more money. A Democratic convention was to meet at Chicago on August 29, with the intention of nominating McClellan for the Presidency. That convention adopted a platform which virtually declared the war a failure and demanded an end of fighting as the condition for the restoration of peace on the basis of the federal union and the rights of the states. To his everlasting credit the nominee repudiated the plank which called the war a failure, but he apparently did not see the folly of the assumption that an undefeated Confederacy would agree to return to the Union.

Also there was a scheme, more or less secret, for a convention to meet in Cincinnati at which dissatisfied Republicans, many of them men of influence, would canvass the situation and substitute another candidate for the Presidency than Lincoln. Horace Greeley thought that Lincoln was already beaten.[65] Governor Andrew wrote that Lincoln was "essentially lacking in the quality of leadership," although he did not "venture" to commit himself against his candidacy, because he knew too little of "opinion elsewhere, to advise the experiment" of naming another man.[66]

Suddenly the skies cleared. Sherman entered Atlanta on September 2, 1864. Farragut had forced his way into Mobile Bay on August 5, and on the day the Cabinet attested Lincoln's remarkable note Fort

[64] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 237–238.

[65] J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, [1937]), 618–619, with the note of reference to the documents published in *The New York Sun*, June 30, 1889.

[66] Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, 1861–1865* (Boston and New York, 1904), II. 163.

Morgan fell. The state elections in Maine and Vermont in September clearly indicated the trend of public sentiment. When the Cabinet met on November 11, three days after the national election, the President produced the paper which they all had signed without knowing its contents, and directed John Hay to pry it open. Hay's diary records Lincoln's explanation. The paper so carefully sealed had been written "when as yet we had no adversary, and seemed to have no friends. I then solemnly resolved on the course of action indicated above. I resolved, in case of the election of General McClellan, being certain that he would be the candidate, that I would see him and talk matters over with him." He, with his demonstrated influence with the people, and Lincoln, with the executive power of the government still in his hands, must try together "to save the country." McClellan would raise as many troops as possible for "this final trial," and the President would do his utmost to aid in "finishing the war." Our reflections upon this incident may be almost equally divided between amusement and admiration, until we take due note of Lincoln's concluding remark. Seward spoke up, that McClellan would have said "'Yes, Yes;' and so on forever, and would have done nothing at all," and the President rejoined: "I should have done my duty and have stood clear before my own conscience."[67]

GEORGE GORDON MEADE

On the morning of July 4, 1863, the President issued a formal announcement that the Army of the Potomac under the command of General Meade had won a victory which promised "a great success to the cause of the Union." Gettysburg had proved at last that Lee's army was not invincible. Only two months before, the Unionists, then commanded by General Hooker, had been heavily defeated, and now Lincoln was looking forward to nothing less than the destruction of the troops that had dealt that blow. With increasing uneasiness he watched for tidings that the retreating Confederates, encompassed with desperate difficulties, had sustained such a disaster as, with the fall of Vicksburg on the day following Gettysburg, might have brought the end of the war in sight. One of the ablest and most objective of the commentators on the military operations of the Civil War, a distinguished British soldier, in discussing Lee's "escape" set down the reasoned judgment that: "It would be too much to say that certain victory was within Meade's reach, for there is no such thing as certainty in war—but it is a fact that he had a better chance than ever presented itself to the Unionists, either before or afterwards." And he added: "It is easy for us to see this now, in the light of history. Lincoln, the amateur strategist, grasped it at the time, while his professional soldiers were congratulating themselves on 'driving the invader from our soil'."[68]

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[67] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 238.

Such an opportunity a Napoleon or a Lee would have seized at once. The Confederates were short of ammunition. Their lines were enormously extended. On the second day after the battle Lee and his men had to endure what Freeman describes as "sixteen daylight hours of purgatory." Heavy rain was falling. The Potomac, swollen by violent storms, was too high to cross without boats or bridges, and they were all gone. Roads were mired so deeply that wheels sank into them hub deep. Lee's biographer sees that situation as "worse than serious," and says that delay would mean another battle in Maryland, and that "a disaster . . . would mean annihilation." Not until July 13 did Lee's men manage to improvise a crude and swaying pontoon bridge over which the wagons wobbled somehow, and the weary and hungry soldiers dragged themselves through the lowering waters of the Potomac.[69]

About noon on the eleventh day after the battle the news of the crossing reached the White House. The President, of course, did not know all the details of the straits in which the Confederates were involved, nor the difficulties which might have hindered pursuit by the Union troops, but he did know that Lee's army was quitting a battlefield without a victory and he had a right to assume that the beaten troops were dispirited. John Hay describes Lincoln's reaction to the tidings that "the enemy had gotten away unhurt." He was "deeply grieved. 'We had them within our grasp,' he said. . . . 'And nothing I could say or do could make the Army move.' . . . Every day he has watched the progress of the Army with agonizing impatience, hope struggling with fear. He has never been easy in his own mind about General Meade since Meade's General Order in which he called on his troops to drive the invader from our soil. The President says, 'This is a dreadful reminiscence of McClellan. . . . Will our Generals never get that idea out of their heads? The whole country is our soil.' "[70]

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[68] Colin R. Ballard, *The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (London, 1926), 171.

[69] Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography* (New York and London, 1934–1935), III. 137–138 and 141–142.

It is widely believed that at some time during those days of waiting the President sent an order to General Meade, stating that it was "not of record," directing him to attack Lee, with the proviso that if the Union troops should be defeated he should publish the order, and that if they won a victory he might destroy both the order and the note containing the proviso. The authority for this story is rarely cited, nor is it easy to find. The best basis for it is a little book published years ago by the Reporter of Decisions of the Illinois Supreme Court, which contains a short account of this "peremptory order," with a note citing the source of the information. James Harlan, senator from Iowa during Lincoln's Presidency, had written the author a letter, dated April 17, 1897, stating that the order was sent, together with a "confidential letter," authorizing Meade to make the order public or to destroy both letter and order, according to the success or failure of his attack. Harlan is quoted in conclusion: "This much you may rely upon as historically true. Whether or not these papers ever reached General Meade I am not able to say. I had supposed, prior to the receipt of your letter, that this incident had remained unknown for twenty years after the close of the War of the Rebellion to everybody except General Meade, Robert T. Lincoln, and myself."[71]

Lincoln's son married the daughter of Senator Harlan; so he would seem to have been the source of Harlan's information. There is a bit of evidence which tends to confirm that conclusion. On the golf links near the son's summer home in Vermont, a friend of Robert Lincoln's heard the story once and again. Eventually he wrote it down. Robert Lincoln found his father in tears "right after . . . Gettysburg." His father explained that when he heard that the Potomac bridge at Williamsport had been swept away he had consulted General Haupt as to how much time its replacement would require, and then "at once wrote Meade to attack without delay." If Meade were successful he must destroy the letter, but "in case of failure" he could

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[70] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 67.

[71] Isaac Newton Phillips, *Lincoln* (Chicago, 1910), 93–94.

"preserve it for his vindication." Robert had seen the President when he learned that Meade had held a council of war with his generals, and decided not to pursue Lee. His golfing friend withheld publication of his information until after the death of the President's son, although he believed that Robert desired the publicity while "not precisely" saying so.[72]

Thus both these sources trace back to the President's son. Was he in Washington "right after Gettysburg"? On July 3 his father telegraphed him at Harvard College, eight days later he wired him in New York to "come to Washington," and on the fourteenth he sent the inquiry, "Why do I hear no more of you?"[73] There is an entry in John Hay's diary for the fifteenth that Lincoln "is grieved silently but deeply" over Lee's "escape," and on the twenty-fifth Hay noted that "Bob was down the river with Seward,"[74] while on July 28 the President sent word to Mrs. Lincoln in New York that "Bob went to Fort Monroe and only got back today."[75] Meade's council of war took place on July 12. On the next day Lee began the crossing of the river.[76] How literal should we be with the phrase "right after Gettysburg"? If we take it to mean within a few days of the termination of the battle, these dates do not necessarily contravene the essential fidelity of his statements to his father-in-law and to his golfing friend.

The President on July 14 drafted a letter to General Meade, containing several familiar phrases, in which he gave the reasons for his own judgment and distress. Meade had asked General Halleck to relieve him of his command because of "a supposed censure" by Lincoln. The President was "very, very grateful . . . for the magnificent success" at Gettysburg, and was "sorry now to be the author of the slightest pain" to him. He went on to state the case summarily. Meade had "stood and let the flood run down, bridges be built, and the enemy move away at his leisure without attacking him." He did not believe the general appreciated the "magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp. . . ." Now, "the war will be prolonged indefinitely." So, "Your golden opportunity is gone. . . . As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why."

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[72] *American Historical Review,* XXXII (January, 1927), 282–283. The item was written by George H. Thacher, one-time president of the City Savings Bank of Albany. Much information as to the conditions which confronted the two armies after the battle may be seen in the *Reminiscences of General Herman Haupt* ([Milwaukee], 1901), 223–253.

[73] *Complete Works,* IX. 15, 24 and 30.

[74] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War,* 67 and 72.

[75] *Complete Works,* IX. 46.

[76] *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade,* George Meade, Editor, (New York, 1913), II. 363 and 364.

Having penned that letter, Lincoln looked it over, reflected, and delayed. It was never signed or sent. Nicolay and Hay gave it to the public in 1890. They recorded also that "after the lapse of several days, he now felt profoundly grateful to Meade and his army for what they had done without indulging in any criticisms for what they had not done, and General Meade had his full confidence as a brave and skillful officer and a true man." He was, in truth, a soldier of the scientific type, of indubitable integrity, able although not brilliant, deservedly ranking high among the Northern leaders while destitute of the picturesque qualities which provide the public with anecdotes and attract popular attention.[77]

There is another theory about this confidential letter which deserves attention. More than three months after the battle the President wrote to General Halleck a short note, as follows:

> Doubtless in making the present movement, Lee gathered in all the available scraps, and added them to Hill's and Ewell's corps, but that is all, and he made the movement in the belief that four corps had left General Meade; and General Meade's apparently avoiding a collision with him has confirmed him in the belief. If General Meade can now attack him on a field no more than equal for us, and will do so with all the skill and courage which he, his officers, and men possess, the honor will be his if he succeeds, and the blame may be mine if he fails.[78]

The similarity between this indirect suggestion through an intermediary and the direct off-the-record order is easy to see. An argument against the President's ever having written the order, or of Meade's ever having received it, and in favor of the theory that the story of its writing is due to a faulty memory and a confusion of dates, may be founded on an examination of certain telegrams that were exchanged between Meade and the authorities in Washington. On July 7 the President sent word to the general of the surrender of Vicksburg, with the suggestion that if Meade now "can complete his work . . . by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee's army, the rebellion will be over."[79] Meade sent word to Halleck on the following day that "The spirit of the army is high; the men are ready and willing to make every exertion to push forward," and he would "move forward" as soon as possible. On the same day Halleck notified him that "The President is urgent and anxious" that he should go ahead "by forced marches."[80] Meade telegraphed Halleck on July 9: ". . . . I think the decisive battle of the war will be fought in a few days. In view of its momentous consequences, I desire to adopt such measures as in my judgment will tend to insure success, even though these may be deemed tardy." To which Halleck replied the same day: "Do not be influenced by any dispatch from here against your own judgment. Regard them as suggestions only. Our information here is not always correct."[81] Late on July 10 Halleck advised that "I think it will be best for you to postpone a general battle till you can concentrate all your forces." On the afternoon of July 12 Meade informed Halleck: "It is my intention to attack them tomorrow, unless something intervenes to prevent it," adding the very sound "reason that delay will strengthen the enemy and will not increase my force."

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[77] Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, VII. 279–281.

[78] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II. 332. There is a facsimile in Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York, [1939]), II. 439. The original is owned by Oliver R. Barrett, of Chicago. There is no mention of it in the detailed account of the weeks following Gettysburg in Meade's *Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*.

Something did intervene—a council of war. Meade assembled his corps commanders for consultation and five of the six opposed an attack.[82] Within three hours he had Halleck's reply: "You are strong enough to attack and defeat the enemy. . . . Act upon your own judgment and make your generals execute your orders. Call no council of war. It is proverbial that councils of war never fight. . . . Do not let the enemy escape." Then on July 14 Meade had to advise Halleck that Lee's army was gone. Quickly there came from Halleck an intimation of the "great dissatisfaction in the mind of the President."[83] One can only wonder if the general was carrying in his pocket any off-the-record order, and whether the "order" was in fact definite and peremptory. It may be noted that in the Gettysburg edition of Lincoln's writings, published in 1905, there appears a footnote in connection with the letter to Meade, which the President left unsigned and did not send, to the effect that "He afterward regretted not having ordered Meade to attack Lee." With this edition of Lincoln's *Works* Nicolay and Hay had little or nothing to do, except that it contained the writings in their two-volume edition of 1894, with numerous additions. They were fully responsible for the contents of that earlier compilation, in which this note does not appear.

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[79] *Rebellion Records,* Series I, XXVII, Part I. 83.

[80] *Ibid.,* 84.

[81] *Ibid.,* 86 and 88.

[82] *Ibid.,* 89 and 91.

[83] *Ibid.,* 92.

No such questions cloud the indirect order of October 16, quoted above. A simple summary of another series of telegrams covers that situation. It was on the morning of October 12 that Meade sent word that "If Lee will give me battle . . . I will fight him, although in doing so I feel confident I shall have to attack, and from all the information I can get, it is my opinion his forces are nearly, if not quite, equal to mine." The tone of that message certainly is not reassuring.[84] Two days later the general found a reason for delay. "The army is somewhat exhausted by the recent marches, and unless the enemy compels a movement to-morrow, I shall give them rest." On October 15 Halleck sent the opinion that Meade ought to fight, and said that "From all the information I can get, his force is very much inferior to yours." Then on the following day he sent the general "a copy of a communication just received from the President"; this was the proposal that he attack, success to be to his honor and failure to be the President's blame.[85] Meade replied at once: his delay had been due to "the difficulty" of finding Lee's "exact position" and "the fear" of jeopardizing his communications. He will move to meet the foe as soon as he receives "information of the position of their infantry" and "can form any correct idea of his movements."

In a dispatch of October 18 Halleck urged him to give battle; also on that day Meade asked for information about the force and the route of the opposing army.[86] Halleck's reply on the evening of that day was sarcastic and stinging: "Lee is unquestionably bullying you. If you cannot ascertain his movements, I certainly cannot. If you pursue and fight him, I think you will find out where he is." Meade *was* stung; he returned a petulant reply with the suggestion that he be relieved from command. With a soft answer Halleck sought to turn away his wrath, but on October 21 the general considered the campaign to be "virtually over for the present season." The President tried once more, on October 24, sending his suggestions through Halleck that "with all possible expedition, the Army of the Potomac get ready to attack Lee" and in the meantime "at all hazards" raid a certain railroad.[87] But nothing happened! Is it any wonder that the President liked General Grant—that man "fights," he said.

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[84] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II. 293.

[85] *Ibid.*, 314, 328, and 332.

[86] *Ibid.*, 333, 339, and 345.

In the face of all these difficulties absolute conclusions are impossible—only tentative opinions. We know that Robert Lincoln was in Washington in July, and we are not able to place him there in October. We do not know when he told Harlan the story of the Gettysburg order. He married the senator's daughter in 1868. Probably he gave his father-in-law a confidential account within a few years of the close of the war, when his memory was relatively clear. The report of his comrade of the links is confirmatory, but as the recollection of a man well on in years is not of equal value. That was an incident, however, that the son of such a father would surely store away in his memory. What we have, of course, is not the direct testimony of the son, but reports of his intimate friends.

Meade was an honorable man. It is difficult to think of him sitting in a council of war with his subordinates and concealing from them his receipt of that off-the-record order; yet if he had revealed the fact to them the story would have reached the public. Telegraphic communications between the field and the capital were very far from what they ought to have been. The operator in charge of the service did not like the "climate" at headquarters; so he moved his office to Westminster, twenty-five miles away, and took the code along, trying to keep a line open to headquarters by pony express.[88] Probably Lincoln wrote an order which Meade never received. Whether Lincoln ever learned what became of his order may never be known, but there was no good reason for him to withhold a similar command in October in the circumstances described.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES

Lincoln believed from the beginning that secession had been forced by a faction only of the people in all, or all but one, of the Confederate States. In his message to the special session of Congress in July, 1861, he stated: "It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them."[89] Only in Texas did the people have an opportunity to vote on secession—and this was after the ordinance had been passed by the legislature by a vote of one hundred and sixty-six to seven. The popular vote stood three to one in a total of 46,000. In Louisiana also a vote was taken, not on the ordinance for secession, but for convention delegates. That vote stood 20,000 for and 17,000 against secession, but the delegates divided one hundred and thirteen to seventeen.[90]

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[87] *Rebellion Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II. 346, 354, 361, and 376.

[88] *Proceedings*, LXVI. 185–203: Roscoe Pound, "The Military Telegraph in the Civil War."

Lincoln lived on a higher plane than most of his contemporaries. He kept his balance among the clashing forces of selfish fury and well served the people, who do not always seem to deserve to be served well. "The world cannot live at the level of its great men." We have seen how generous and gracious he was to Seward, to Chase, to Stanton, to McClellan, and to Meade. To be generous and to be gracious to those who stand at your side is one thing, but to be generous and gracious to those who have endeavored to defeat, if not to destroy, you is quite another. Lincoln was lucky in the moment of his death, for he was surrounded by triumphant and vindictive men who might have broken him had not Booth already destroyed him. He realized the import of the tremendous tragedy of the Civil War, and looked forward, during his second term as President, to a peaceful and swift reunion of the states.

In his fourth annual message Lincoln merely alluded to the reorganization of the Confederate States. "Important movements have also occurred during the year," he said, "to the effect of molding society for durability in the Union. Although short of complete success, it is much in the right direction that 12,000 citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State governments, with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them."[91]

[89] *Complete Works*, VI. 319; Basler, *Speeches and Writings*, 606.

[90] *Annual Cyclopedia, 1861*, 688–689, and 431.

[91] *Complete Works*, X. 303; Basler, *Speeches and Writings*, 784–785.

For a year, however, the Congress had been moving steadily in a different direction. One week after the message and proclamation of December 8, 1863, had been sent to the Congress, a resolution was reported from the Committee on Ways and Means that the President's proclamation and plans for dealing with the seceded states be referred to a special committee of nine to be named by the Speaker, Schuyler Colfax. The chairman of Ways and Means was Thaddeus Stevens. The hateful people of the North proceeded to take charge of Reconstruction with results which the nation gaily forgets. As early as February 11, 1862, a portent of what was to come startled the Senate.

On that day Charles Sumner read to that chamber the extraordinary series of nine resolutions embodying his "suicide theory." A state adopting secession abdicates all its rights under the Constitution. Its treason involves instant forfeiture of the powers essential for its continued existence as a state. Its territory comes under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Congress. The state commits suicide, "according to the language of the law, felo-de-se"; it "ceases to exist." With the suicide of a state its local institutions, including slavery, cease also to exist. Any recognition of slaves, direct or implied, denies the rights of persons who have become free. The extinction of a state devolves upon Congress the constitutional duty, under the guaranty clause of a republican form of government, to assume complete jurisdiction over the "vacated territory."[92] These resolutions created a sensation, but they were not adopted nor ever seriously discussed. While many senators disavowed them as a personal or party policy, they had an important promotional influence, backed as they were by the prestige of a remarkable man.

Still further back, only twelve days after Bull Run, Thaddeus Stevens first proclaimed the policy with which his name was to be associated ever afterward. On August 2, 1861, he said in the House: "I thought the time had come when the laws of war were to govern our action; when constitutions, if they stood in the way of the laws of war in dealing with the enemy, had no right to intervene. . . . if their whole country must be laid waste, and made a desert, in order to save this Union from destruction, so let it be."[93] He missed no opportunity thereafter to emphasize this theory. The Constitution was a nullity in the seceded states. They must be treated as conquered provinces. In January, 1864, he informed a subservient House that "if a State, as a State, makes war upon the Government and becomes a belligerent power we treat it as a foreign nation, and when we conquer it we treat it just as we do any other foreign nation."[94]

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[92] *Congressional Globe,* 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Part 1. 736–737.

[93] *Congressional Globe,* 37th Congress, 1st Session, 414–415.

For the Committee of Nine the Speaker named, as chairman, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland. A bill was duly reported which passed both Houses. It contained none of the provisions for welcoming back the erring states which characterized the President's plan. It was a penalty bill. The President must have the advice and consent of the Senate for the appointment of a provisional governor of any seceded state. A constitutional convention must set up its new government. Nobody who had held either state or Confederate office during secession, or had voluntarily borne arms against the United States, should vote for delegates, or serve as a delegate in the convention, or become governor or a member of the legislature. Slavery must be prohibited for ever. The President must obtain the assent of Congress before recognizing the new state. Between the magnanimity of the President and the vengefulness of the Congress there was a deep gulf fixed.

One Congressman, in the long, bitter debate denouncing the President, said: "There does not exist on earth a more despotic Government than that of Abraham Lincoln."[95] Another declared: ". . . the President's design is perfectly evident, to secure a majority of the delegates to the nominating convention of his party, . . . a political trick worthy of the most adroit and unscrupulous wire-puller of our ward primary meetings."[96] The one pertinent argument against the President's plan simply rang the changes on the fact that one tenth is not majority rule. An Ohio Democrat made a forceful speech against the President's purpose,[97] and in the Senate, where the bill was sponsored by Benjamin F. Wade, an excellent opposition speech was delivered by a Virginian.[98] The Senate passed the bill on July 2, 1864. Lincoln vetoed it.

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[94] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Part I. 317.

[95] Charles Denison, of Pennsylvania; see *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Part II. 2041.

[96] Nehemiah Perry, of New Jersey; reported *ibid.*, 2073.

[97] George H. Pendleton; reported *ibid.*, 2105–2107.

The story of that memorable pocket veto, as set down in John Hay's diary, is a shining illustration of Lincoln's courage. The Congress was to adjourn at noon on July 4. Lincoln was in the President's room at the Capitol. With intense anxiety a little group of Radicals was hovering in and about the room, awaiting his disposition of this bill. Zachariah Chandler came in. Hay wrote out the dialogue that followed. Chandler asked if the bill had been signed. The President said: "Mr. Chandler, this bill was placed before me a few minutes before Congress adjourns. It is a matter of too much importance to be swallowed in that way." Chandler: "If it is vetoed it will damage us fearfully in the Northwest. It may not in Illinois; it will in Michigan and Ohio. The important point is that one prohibiting slavery in the reconstructed States." The President explained: "That is the point on which I doubt the authority of Congress to act." Chandler replied: "It is no more than you have done yourself." Lincoln retorted: "I conceive that I may in an emergency do things on military grounds which cannot be done constitutionally by Congress." "Mr. President," expostulated Chandler, "I cannot controvert your position by argument, I can only say I deeply regret it."

After Chandler had left Lincoln indicated his own view to William Pitt Fessenden, who had recently become Secretary of the Treasury. The bill, asserting that the Confederate States were no longer in the Union, made "the fatal admission . . . that States whenever they please may of their own motion dissolve their connection with the Union." Such an admission "we cannot survive. . . . It was to obviate this question that I earnestly favored the movement for an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. . . . I thought it much better, if it were possible, to restore the Union without the necessity of a violent quarrel among its friends, as to whether certain States have been in or out of the Union during the war." Two other members of the Cabinet then also in the room, William H. Seward and John P. Usher, seemed to be completely in sympathy with this position. The President put the bill in his pocket and killed it. On leaving the Capitol, he said to Hay that Chandler and the other Radicals had

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[98] John Snyder Carlile; see *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Part III. 3451–3454.

"never been friendly" to him and that they might "make a point" on his action and thus "do harm." But: "At all events, I must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near right: I must keep some standard of principle fixed within myself."[99]

The fury of Benjamin Wade and Winter Davis was boundless, nor was their anger soothed by the proclamation which the President issued four days later in order to explain and defend his action before the ten-day limit on the bill had expired. Approval of the bill, he declared, would have committed him "inflexibly . . . to any single plan of restoration." He was unwilling that what had been done in Arkansas and Louisiana should be undone, nor was he willing "to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery." The bill did contain "one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it" for restoration, and he was "prepared to give the executive aid and assistance to any such people." The loyal people must not be compelled to submit to a plan; he would not object to giving them an opportunity for a voluntary choice between two plans.[100]

Wade and Davis were not so quick on the trigger; the notorious Wade-Davis Manifesto was not published until August 5. It was a ferocious attack on Lincoln as a man and statesman. The President, according to them, would pervert the Constitution. Low personal motives determined his action. He would satisfy his personal ambition by using "the electoral votes of the rebel States." He was striding "headlong toward . . . anarchy." The manifesto threatened Lincoln as follows: ". . . if he wishes our support he must confine himself to his Executive duties—to obey and execute, not make the laws—to suppress by arms armed rebellion, and leave political reorganization to Congress."[101]

On April 11, 1865, Lincoln made his last public address, a discussion of his reconstruction policy. The seceded states were "out of their proper practical relation with the Union; . . . the sole object of the government . . . is to again get them into that proper practical relation." This might be most easily done "without deciding, or even considering, whether these States have ever been out of the Union. . . .

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[99] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, 204–206.

[100] *Complete Works*, x. 152–154.

[101] *Annual Cyclopedia, 1864*, 307–310*n*.

Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad." He defended the ten-per-cent plan in effect in Louisiana. And here he used a quaint and effective illustration: "Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it?"[102]

The meeting of the Cabinet on April 14 was a jubilee session. Seven years later it was described by Gideon Welles. Writing in paraphrase, he said of Lincoln: "He hoped there would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over. None need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing those men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars. . . . Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union."[103] That evening, seeking rest and relaxation, Lincoln went to Ford's Theatre.

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[102] Basler, *Speeches and Writings*, 799–800; *Complete Works*, XI. 84–92.

[103] *The Galaxy*, XIII (April, 1872), 526.

A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln
February 12, 1909

FREDERIC HAINES CURTISS[1]

SEVERAL years ago, while I was in Florida, I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Anne Page Johns, the wife of Dr. Frank S. Johns of Richmond, Virginia, and a niece of the late Thomas Nelson Page. Mrs. Johns had inherited many of Page's letters and papers, and among these she had found the notes of an address on Lincoln delivered by Page on the one-hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth. She had found no clue as to where the speech had been delivered; and, though several of my friends and I searched in vain, it was not until much later that I was able to obtain the following facts through the kind offices of Mr. Robert C. Gouch, the chief of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress.

A Lincoln Memorial Celebration was held in Washington, D. C., on February 12, 1909, at the Masonic Temple, under the auspices of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. According to the *Washington Star* of February 13, "the doors were opened at three o'clock and it seemed that in five minutes the big hall was filled, floor and gallery. . . . On the platform were the officials of the District of Columbia, representatives of the Judiciary, Members of the Legislature, Civil War Veterans, both from the North and South, women who had seen the struggle and daughters of men who had taken a big part in it, in fact a truly representative gathering." There were some seven speakers in all, and among these Thomas Nelson Page spoke as a Southerner. No reference was made in the Washington or New York papers to any of the speeches, and the proceedings of this celebration were never published.

In his letter to me, Mr. Gouch wrote that he could find no evidence that Page's speech was ever published separately, in one of his volumes of essays or in any periodical. It is not mentioned in his biography.

In preparing this paper, I have taken Page's notes which Mrs. Johns allowed me to have copied, and any changes or omissions from the original manuscript are those which were made by the speaker himself. The manuscript has the following heading: "On Lincoln."

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[1] This paper was read at the November, 1947, meeting.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Thomas Nelson Page

I have had the great honor done me to be asked as a Southern man to speak on this notable occasion, and celebrate here in the capital of the nation where he achieved his great and abiding fame, the centennial of the birth of the man who, more than any other man or group of men, saved the nation.

I assume that the invitation was extended as it was accepted, with the understanding that what I shall say shall be what I really believe, and what the South really believes, and not the reflection of some other person's opinion or the opinion of many other persons. The fact that a Southern man can be asked and can accept the invitation to do this, is a proof that the nation was saved.

There is no more common error than to consider historical events of the past as though they had occurred in the present. The result is fatal to truth. Moreover, I shall endeavor to tell the truth about him as I find it in history, and not as toned down and varnished by sentimentalists and eulogists. For if ever a man was large enough and sound enough to stand the plain truth, that man was Abraham Lincoln.

In my boyhood the man whose birth we are celebrating today was the best hated and most reviled man that I knew of in the world. And this hatred was not confined to the South but was, if possible, quite as bitter in the North. While the South had some cause for bitterness at the time—some reason for its hatred in the fact of invasion and war of which he was the titular representative, and while the South was by reason of the war, ignorant of the vast breadth of his views and the humanity of his heart; no such excuse could be urged for those who of his own faith and household, as it were, hated him with a rancor which declared him publicly a greater enemy of the Union than Jefferson Davis.

That hostility to his memory still exists in some measure among a certain element in the South, and a very honest, patriotic and high-minded element at that, should be frankly admitted and may be credited simply to human nature, which is about the same the world over.

That this hostility is dying out, and that it is destined to die out completely is, I believe, as undeniable as its present modified existence. And I make so bold as to say that in my humble judgment its complete effacement will not be due to any advantages which the South may derive in the future from a restored Union except as this may justify Lincoln's wisdom; but rather to an understanding of his catholicity of feeling and his absolute unsectional sentiment for the whole people of the country. For Lincoln's passion was for the Union. He has been credited with the two great works of having destroyed slavery and saved the Union, and yet, standing here today with every desire to accord him every honor that truth can tender to his memory, I cannot find in the facts of history the foundation for the first.

That he was opposed to slavery is unquestionably true; as also that he earnestly desired its destruction, and strove as far as he might lawfully do to put an end to it—some even think he went far beyond what the law allowed in this direction. But the credit for its destruction must be distributed through many years and to many men—some of them far more zealous and insistent workers than the author of the Emancipation Proclamation.

To the ultra and intractable abolitionists, once hated as roundly at the North as at the South, as disturbers of the public peace, and chief among them to a woman, must be accredited the abolition of slavery at the time and by the method adopted, with whatever of weal or woe was connected with it or consequent upon it. Mr. Lincoln was but an instrument performing the function made possible by their work. And whatever the final consequence of the presidential proclamation, its actual immediate effect was not the emancipation of a single slave; for in express terms it exempted from its provision every rood of territory under the control of the federal government and armies.

But in the other work, the preservation of the Union, Lincoln stands supreme, not only unequaled and unrivaled, but unapproached. Love of the Union, or to use his own chosen word: "the nation" was the master passion of his soul and he saved it. Moreover, he saved the nation. For long after his worn frame had been laid to rest amid a nation's lamentations, his spirit of charity and universal good-will so brooded over the fierce passions of those who came after him that in time the nation, which had been almost destroyed by the rancor and hate that had been engendered, emerged at last sound and fair from the black chaos of that turbulent time.

Whatever has been said of Lincoln in the past, whatever may be said of him now; I believe that in the future the whole people of this country will come to recognize this mighty fact that he saved not only the Union, which is but the body after all; but that he saved also the nation, which is the spirit of the Union.

The election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency by the party whose candidate he was, was taken by the Southern States as a declaration that what was known in Mr. Seward's phrase as the "higher law" would be put in force and the Constitution over-ridden. Mr. Lincoln said everything that he felt proper to allay the apprehension. His adherents were, many of them, opposed to his utterances and their utterances were such as to inflame further the apprehensions and passions already at white heat. The result was war. Two constructions of the Constitution were held by the two sides and with equal sincerity and determination. From the one resulted secession; from the other ensued invasion. The consequence was war. This is not the time nor the occasion to discuss the merits or demerits of the contention of the two sides. It is sufficient to recall that both sides were actuated by a spirit so high that not only life, but all that goes to make life worthy to be lived was freely offered and that a war long, wasting and destructive was waged, in which every energy, every force and every aspiration was put forth as an earnest of the high principle on which the contest was based. And at the end emerged the Union saved; the nation torn and sore wounded, but intact; the record of a struggle for principle titanic in its proportions and shining with a heroism and fortitude which have enriched the annals of the human race; and the character of the men who supported the contest.

Last year we celebrated in this city, as elsewhere, the centennial of the birth of him whom the South justly reveres with pride as the type of the best she has produced, the best that any civilization has produced—the type of the Virginia gentry—whose genius as a soldier, as supreme as it was, was almost eclipsed by his character as a man. Today we are celebrating the centennial of the birth of him who, with another kind of genius, yet challenges our affection and admiration by his genius as a statesman and his character as a man—the type of the people. What were the principal elements of his character? Let us see.

In discussing Lincoln we are liable to confuse two men. One the Lincoln of the West, beginning with the plain, awkward, frontier-lawyer with exterior so rough as to be the constant subject of ridicule and caricature—the "humble Abraham Lincoln" as he, with pride, termed himself, developing insensibly into the shrewd, able and successful debater, with a native wit which set men to wondering and a Rabelaisian humor which often shocked them. The other the Lincoln of the war, the Lincoln we are celebrating today—the Lincoln of the world—whose fame in spite of all his detractors—in spite of all his scarcely less inefficient adulators who, in their misplaced zeal, would destroy his salient individuality and reduce him to a smooth and conventional hero—will survive as an American of the Americans for all mankind to marvel and love.

Let us do away with the myth into which ignorance and mawkish sentiment would reduce him and get at the man. Let the painter draw his portrait as Cromwell said he would have his portrait, with not a wart left out. If there ever was a man who did not need to be treated with rose-water and soft unguents, belittled with the trickings-out of a foppish sentimentality and patronizing of condescending apologists, it was Abraham Lincoln.

If there ever was a man who would have indulged in Homeric laughter over the fine pictures drawn of him by foppish sentimentalists, it was he. He was a man of the people, "the plain people," as he loved to speak of them, rough-hewn as a foundation sill, hewn out with a broad axe; in the beginning certainly coarse in illustration as if he had stepped out from the pages of one of Fielding's novels—and this was what, in some sort, he had done; for he had sprung from and amid a life which since the seventeenth century, following ever the frontier, had been untouched by the refining influences of the eighteenth century. This coarseness has done more than all else to injure his reputation. But I think as elemental as it appeared, it was a matter of manner only and was but the roughness of the frontier. There may be some present who can recall the grossness of the stories that once circulated about the county court houses in the outlying regions. They would be impossible today—at least, I trust they would be; and but that we knew that they were common in that period, they would be incredible.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, once said that everyone in the country attempted to father his bastard wit on him. So of Lincoln. One who knew him well (F. B. Carpenter, in his *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln*) says with much truth that, "Every foul-minded man in the country gave currency to the slime and filth of his own imagination by attributing it to the President," and adds that, "It is but simple justice to his memory that I should state, that during the entire period of my stay in Washington, after witnessing his intercourse with nearly all classes of men, embracing governors, senators, members of Congress, officers of the army, and intimate friends, I cannot recollect to have heard him relate a circumstance to any one of them, which would have been out of place uttered in a ladies' drawing-room. And this testimony is not unsupported by that of others, well entitled to consideration." Carpenter states that "Dr. Stone, his family physician [who, by the way, was a Southerner], came in one day to see my studies. Sitting in front of that of the President,—with whom he did not sympathize politically,—he remarked, with much feeling, 'It is the province of a physician to probe deeply the interior lives of men; and I affirm that Mr. Lincoln is the purest hearted man with whom I ever came in contact.' "[2]

In corroboration of this is the fact, already adverted, that Lincoln's stories were mainly, if not invariably, used for the purpose of colloquial illustration and not for the purpose of mere entertainment. It is notable that when he applied himself to the task of committing his views to paper he rarely, so far as I can recall, used a story. Here he relied on pure reasoning and the power of simple statement of a principle to carry itself into the mind of those whom he addressed. His simplicity of diction, one of the elements of his power, came, I think, partly from the fact that he had learned to speak in the simple speech of the Bible, but even more from his knowledge of the people and his sympathy with them. He addressed himself at once to their intellect and in terms which they understood. Both he and they felt that he was one of them. And in this lay one of the chief elements of his supreme success.

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[2] F. B. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1866), 80–81.

Take any portrait of him and study it—the homely face with the lantern jaws and rugged beard—study it, and what do you find? The thinker's brow; the dreamer's eye; the sufferer's mouth; the man's jaw, and over all, pervading all, uplifting all and making its sudden grip at the heart; the man's divine kindliness and patience.

Shall I be thought too sectional if I recall with pride on this occasion that Abraham Lincoln was a Southerner by blood. As

> Seven Greek cities fought for Homer dead
> Through which the living Homer begged his bread,

so several states claim the honor of his lineage. New England puts forth a claim, though it be shadowy. Pennsylvania insists that his ancestry passed through her borders and sojourned there a space. But all that we know with certainty is they possibly came from New England to Pennsylvania; probably sojourned for a time in Pennsylvania, and certainly lived in Virginia, where the Lincolns still are people of consideration in the county of Rockingham; that his grandfather went thence to Kentucky and that there on the 12th day of February, 1809, Abraham Lincoln first saw the light and spent his early childhood, when his father moved first to Indiana and then to Illinois. We know one other thing, that his stepmother, a Kentucky woman, inspired in his awakening soul a love of knowledge—not much perhaps; but it served. She blew the spark into a flame, not great, even tiny perhaps; but it lit the way to a great career. His life thenceforth was that which in the providence of God fitted him best for the work which fell to his lot.

Have you never thought that this fact of his Southern birth and traditional affection may have been the key to his consuming passion to preserve the Union; that herein lay the source of his sudden determination to seize Kentucky and hold her in the Union at every hazard—even of being charged with breach of faith in violating her assumed neutrality.

He had at his side always a reminder that the South was a part of the Union. It has grown to be the fashion to disparage Mrs. Lincoln. But it is possible that the girl who had two lovers like Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, possessed, when she reached mature womanhood, qualities somewhat beyond the ordinary. The "little short woman at our house" to whom Lincoln turned in his first moments of his elation at his nomination, bore her part in helping him to the elevation he attained, and she was as Southern as a loyal wife could be, her nearest kin being in the Southern army. Lincoln was the one public man on either side who exhibited not only an absence of sectionalism, but a sentiment of friendliness toward the other side. At his bitterest, his attitude was one of semi-humorous tolerance of the South.

It has grown to be the custom to compare him with Washington—to speak of him as the equal of Washington—some even go so far in their enthusiasm as to declare him greater than Washington, which is only to say that they know Lincoln, but do not know Washington. There is no one the equal of Washington—no one in all history, if we take as the gauge the standards by which great men are measured: the intellectual scope; the moral fibre; the unvarying fortitude; the gift of construction; the supreme power of command; and over all, embracing all, pervading all, the indefinable but recognizable endowment of an all-comprehensive genius. It does but belittle Lincoln to place him beside Washington as it would belittle any other man born of woman of whom we have record in historical times. And it is not only not necessary but unjust to place him in comparison.

It is honor enough to any man to mention him in any connection with Washington, though it be but to reject the comparison. Lincoln's greatness was all his own, as his fame will be his own. Why do you want to smooth out and conventionalize him into the form of something that he was not, even though that something be as fine a thing as a well-bred man of the world? You would but place him in comparison with those who represent a much smaller class than that which he now represents—the great body of "the plain people." Leave him with his baggy clothes and yarn socks and carpet-slippers; his uncouth figure and gentle heart; his far-sight and homely sententious speech. Leave him as God made him, bigger than any man can make him, and thank God that from the people in this great democracy can come such a man—a man of the people, able, patient, wise and kind. In all the history of our land no one appears to me to give such proof of the capability of the great body of our plain countrymen to produce at need a man equal to every exigency. He appears to me to be the absolute proof that democracy, to use a modern phrase, is able to "make good"—that the people form a vast reservoir of power from which will come at need every force demanded. My observation is that he is the most inspiring example to the youth of the masses in all our history. Nearly all others who rose to the highest eminence had some adventitious aid which might be wanting in another case. Lincoln had nothing except what he carried under his hat and the wide field of the world for its exercise.

"Washington is the mightiest name of earth," said Lincoln himself. ". . . To add brightness to the sun, or glory to the name of Washington, is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor, leave it shining on."

Lincoln began as a politician, which Washington never was; and his evolution into a great statesman is one of the extraordinary facts in his extraordinary career.

II

"I call therefore," said Milton, "a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war."

Many of the elements of the education of the two men were substantially identical, with the odds, however, largely in favor of Washington; for, while he was, like Lincoln blessed with the yoke in his youth he grew up in touch with a refined society. This education Washington had and justified in his life Milton's comprehensive definition. This education Lincoln did not have, as fine as was the education he did have, for as wonderful as was his ability and his wisdom, he was not able, as Washington was, to show the fruits of his education in war. Washington was one of the greatest soldiers of the world. What he accomplished showed him equal to all accomplishments; Lincoln was, in the judgment of many great military critics, an indifferent commander. General Henderson, the military critic, says that Lincoln and Stanton obstructed grievously the work of their generals.

The picture of the President poring over the works of Jomini and other teachers of military science is one of the pathetic glimpses we have of the man with the vast burden on his shoulders and his wish to carry it. But it is the man, not the soldier whom we find; and in the opinion of the professors of war he had been wiser not to try to interfere with the practical side of the war.

Washington was of a stuff as stern as Plutarch's sternest heroes. Lincoln does not appear to have been of such stern stuff at all. He was of a tender nature. And it is this element in him that endears his memory to men today more than his genius. Alone, we can hardly tell what he might have accomplished. But he had at his side the strongest, hardest and most resolute character that ever sat in a secretary's chair and domineered over his superior. And together they made a team that pulled this country through the war to a final victory.

I have no brief for Edwin M. Stanton—no Southerner will ever forget him with his refusal to exchange prisoners unless contraband of war; but however we hated him—however the people of the North hated him—and however this hate has obscured his fame, it is due to truth to say that he was a man of supreme resolution—whose work contributed inestimably to the final result. A republican form of government is not one to contribute to the success of a great revolution. Stanton simply swept away the republican essence in government, and preserving its form, was the most absolute ruler in the world. And Lincoln had the wisdom to let him rule. The Constitution was set aside, and Stanton ruled by the force of his imperious will.

Behind Stanton, however, as behind the clever and cultivated Seward, was the easy-appearing, half-jocular, sad-faced, clear-headed, far-seeing country lawyer, with a profounder knowledge, a further vision and a broader scope than either one of them possessed.

With his fine touch on the pulse of the people whom he knew so well, with his clear eye fixed ever on the object of his devoutest aspiration, the restoration of the Union, he yielded to them all, used them all, and made them the instruments with which he achieved the final realization of his hope. They held the reins, but it was Lincoln who directed the course.

A Justice of the Supreme Court has called my attention to the dispatch in the delicate affair of the *Trent,* which at one time made war with England so imminent, and threatened to make the success of the Southern side so absolutely assured. The dispatch as originally drafted was Mr. Seward's and as originally drafted it probably meant war, but every touch of Mr. Lincoln on it made for peace. It was not that he had less jealousy for the honor of his country but that he had a larger horizon and a larger vision. The result was that against the clamor of the country Mason and Slidell were given up promptly, war with England was averted and the peril, which was probably the greatest that beset the Union during the entire conflict, was removed. "One war at a time," was his answer.

History appears, or more probably those who speak as though they knew history appear to have forgotten how absolutely the Constitution and the laws were set aside in the conduct of the government by Mr. Lincoln and his powerful Secretary of War and Secretary of State. The prisons were crowded with men carried off from their homes without other warrant than the orders emanating from the State or War Departments, and frequently only telegrams signed simply "Seward," "Stanton" or "Dana," and these not only Southern sympathizers, which would have been natural enough, but men as devoted to the Union as the secretaries themselves, and even zealous Republicans.

This extreme view of Lincoln which would attempt to place him beside Washington had its origin in the mighty shock which shook the nation when he was stricken down by a crazy assassin's hands. Prior to that time no man in the history of the country was more hated and reviled by many of those high in power in the Union, and chief among them were men in his own party. Acrimony and rancor exhausted themselves in characterizing him. He was a greater enemy of the Union than Jefferson Davis, declared one of his enemies on the floor of Congress. Truly the South should love him for the enemies he made; for his enemies were those who, after his death, steeped her in the dregs of abasement.

A few years ago, moved by the spectacle of the apotheosis of Lincoln, a writer published a little book containing the assaults addressed against Lincoln at the North during the war. He called it *The Real Lincoln.*[3] It was not the real Lincoln; but was very far from that. For one can no more draw a correct portrait with all shadows than one can draw such a portrait with no shadows at all. It was, however, an interesting presentation of conditions, the memory of which has almost been obliterated by the subsequent tergiversation of some of those who most bitterly assailed him. The most casual glance at this curious collection of contemporary charges will satisfy any one that Lincoln was as bitterly reviled at the North as at the South.

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[3] Charles L. C. Minor, *The Real Lincoln* (Richmond, 1901).

When the "Commemoration Ode" was delivered at Harvard in July, 1865, it was silent as to Lincoln.[4] The poet had not forgiven the President for his temporizing in the matter of emancipating of the slaves. The striking lines which contain the eloquent characterization of the man as the first American, so often quoted, were all inserted after Lincoln's death.

Among the violent opponents and denouncers of Lincoln and his methods were men like Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Winter Davis, Ben Wade, Wendell Phillips, Secretary Chase; while Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Lyman Trumbull and others were not far behind them. And in 1864, when Lincoln's renomination appeared imminent, a separate convention of extremists was held in Cleveland in the hope of defeating him.

Wendell Phillips spoke of him as "this huxter of politics," and the entire abolition element united in an attack on him which was meant to destroy him.

Even men in his cabinet like Seward, Chase and Stanton, did not refrain from criticism of him which sounds absolutely brutal to our ears.

In their call for the convention of Republicans that met in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 31, 1864, for the purpose of defeating, if possible, Mr. Lincoln's second election, men like Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley and General Fremont declared that the public liberty was in danger and that the object of the convention was to arouse the people "and bring them to realize that while we are saturating Southern soil with the best blood of the country in the name of liberty, we have really parted with it at home."

These references are made for the purpose of showing, first, that the mythical Lincoln was not the real Lincoln, and secondly, of emphasizing the greatness of the man, who, standing between such conflicting forces as the Southern sympathizers on the one side and the extreme radicals on the other, could yet preserve his balance and bring order out of that chaos. His attitude reminds me of a story I heard not long ago of old General Wise of Virginia, who, it is said, on one occasion caught a darkey, the body servant of some officer, stealing horse-feed from him. Whereupon, he rode up to him and seizing the boy by the collar, began to belabor him with the flat of his sword, much to the victim's apprehension, on which the darkey began to pray, "Good Lord, General Wise, please sir, don't do dat; dat's a So'de."

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[4] Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell, A Biography* (2 volumes, Boston and New York, 1901), II. 70–73.

"Yes, Sir," said the General, still laying on, "I know it, and damn you, this is war."

And now putting aside the adulation of all his biographers let us come to Lincoln himself, as shown in his acts and in his words; for the words of rulers are acts. Here we shall find at once the proof of his genius and of his greatness. I am not sure that at the time of his death he was not the best user of the English tongue in writing on the continent, and possibly, in the world. A sentence of his quoted in any work lifts it suddenly into the realm of literature—as if the phrase were from the *Pilgrim's Progress,* or Jeremy Taylor, "the Shakespeare of Theology." I think this is due in part to the fact that his thought was absolutely clear to himself—a rare endowment—and secondly, that he had the resulting gift of knowing precisely how to clothe it to make it clear to others. But beyond this is the further fact that his thoughts were often great thoughts—he expressed principles which were recognized at sight by the universal mind.

Let me illustrate by quoting his letter of August 22, 1862, to Horace Greeley, himself a master of phrase, touching his paramount object in conducting the war, for it will show his mature judgment on the two great matters with which he was concerned at the time, and will also illustrate his power of presenting his idea in a way to make it as clear as light.

Executive Mansion
Washington, August 22, 1862

HONORABLE HORACE GREELEY:
DEAR SIR

I have just read yours of the 19th. addressed to myself through the New-York Tribune. If there be in it any statements, or assumptions of fact, which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing" as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored; the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. . . . My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it . . . ; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors . . . ; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free.

Yours,
A. Lincoln

His address delivered at Gettysburg has become a part of the literature of the entire English-speaking race. It used to be rumored about that it was scribbled on the train on the spur of the moment on a piece of brown paper, a foolish fiction apparent to every one who knows with what patience even genius must arrive at so perfect a model of simple diction. In fact, every word was weighed with the care that alone could produce such an ingot of pure gold. So much for the perfect form in which his declaration was presented. But have you ever read the Gettysburg Address with the simple diction forgotten and the fundamental idea of the national life alone in your mind? Assume, with me, for a moment, if you will, that as the North fought for the preservation of the Union secured by the Constitution; so the South fought for the preservation of the right of self-government, known as States' rights, secured by that Constitution, and, with this clearly in your mind, let us read the Gettysburg Address and see how broad, how unsectional, how national was the idea that Lincoln there, on that battle-field,—the turning point of the war, put forth for the people of this country for this and for all time.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field,

> as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.
>
> But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Is it not wonderful that in this address delivered in such circumstances on a great battlefield but a few weeks after the battle, and while other battles were still going on, there is not one note—not even one word that is sectional—even further—that is not national and may not be as well quoted today by the South as by the North? He does not use even the word Union. It is "the nation" that he highly resolved should "have a new birth of freedom," and the South as well as the North, having fought for constitutional liberty, may from the honored dead "take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Was there another man in the country who, on that battlefield, could have uttered a speech so free from sectionalism—so broad in his scope? That was genius.

This address is now a part of the literature of our country, if not of the world, and it is spoken of as though its immediate effect was what its subsequent effect has been,—to challenge the admiration which we give it today. The evidence, however, leads to a different conclusion, notwithstanding the subsequent declarations of biographers. The address of Edward Everett was that which at that time called forth the enthusiasm of the multitude. Scant attention was given to Mr. Lincoln's simple yet ultimate declaration.

The New York papers for the most part gave the address as a news item only, in columns devoted to the addresses of Everett and Henry Ward Beecher, but contained no editorial comment whatever upon Lincoln's address, though the *New York Times* in an editorial headed "Orations of Everett and Beecher" (Beecher's discourse on his recent tour in Great Britain), praises these orations to the skies. The *New York Tribune* contained no notice editorially. The *New York Herald* of Friday, November 20th, says editorially of the occasion, "many distinguished men were present at the Consecration, including the President and Secretary Seward and the eulogy over the fallen heroes was spoken by Edward Everett. Mr. Everett's oration was on the Classical Model and was a worthy one." The *New York Evening Post* of November 20th not only had no editorial comment, but while mentioning incidentally that "the President, Secretary Seward and others made brief addresses and the oration was delivered by Edward Everett," does not give even the text of Lincoln's address. The *New York World* of the same date in an editorial on "Mr. Everett at Gettysburg" does not refer to Lincoln's address. And finally one of his secretaries who loved him much, and who had been present on the occasion, entered in his journal the following: "Mr. E[verett] took his place on the stand,—and Mr. S[tockton] made a prayer which thought it was an oration—and Mr. E[verett] spoke as he always does, perfectly; and the President, in a firm, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said his half-dozen lines of consecration,—and the music wailed, and we went home through crowded and cheering streets. And all the particulars are in the daily papers."[5]

I wonder if, as he stood on the heights overlooking the valley below, uttering those noble words, he did not recall the lad he had gotten appointed to West Point many years before, accredited to Illinois, and think of the brave officer who had but a few months back led Pickett's immortal division across that deadly valley and up those flaming heights!

One of the pretty stories told of him is of how during his brief visit to Richmond after the capture of the city, he called on his old friend and law partner, Mr. Andrew Johnston, General Pickett's uncle; asked for George Pickett's wife, and taking his baby in his arms, said, "Tell your father, the rascal, that I forgive him for your mother's smile and your bright eyes."

Lincoln's greatness was of a different kind from that of Washington and our other great men. His genius was almost, if not quite, unique. At the basis of it seems to me to have lain kindliness—

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[5] *Letters of John Hay and Extracts from Diary*, [Clara Louise (Stone) Hay, Editor], (3 volumes, Washington, 1908), I. 125.

a kindliness of the immediate sort which made it appeal peculiarly to the plain people, and made them feel that he was akin to them. His action in regard to the sentences and execution of deserters is an illustration. Against the protests of his subordinates and the argument that it was mistaken kindness to reprieve them, he constantly yielded to the solicitation of their friends and of his own heart, and set aside the sentence, justifying his action to himself with the observation that he did not believe it would do that boy any good to shoot him, or that there were too many weeping widows without his adding to them.

Tingeing his character and tempering his action in a way which has helped to endear him to the people because it has made them feel that he was intensely human, was a humor, in some aspects of it quite unique in the record of public men. Apart from the Rabelaisian quality which, as I think, was chargeable not to him but to the surroundings amid which he grew up, his humor had a peculiar quality of illustration and was withal, a vent through which he let off compressed feeling,—a buffer which broke the shock of many of the blows that fell upon his spirit. "That reminds me of a story, as Mr. Lincoln said" has become a phrase in our current speech. His stories were often analogies, which repeated from man to man carried a proof with them to the people which no amount of argument could have supplied. They were like the fables of Æsop and became a part of the thought of the people. For example, the reference to the unwisdom of attempting to swap horses in the middle of the stream had an effect on the mind of the people which no address, however labored, could have approached.

Lincoln's genius was based at last on sheer common sense, which has been well called the most uncommon sense of all. It shines through nearly every letter that he ever wrote and every message he ever delivered. It is the distinguishing mark of his wisdom. He was sometimes ready, as he declared, to give up even great things and always ready to give up little things. He knew well the dangers that arose from men using the same words in different senses, and in such cases he advocated silence. He was ever ready to advise compromise, and what was more, was ever ready to make compromises with a view to the larger gain. It was to this, I believe, that was finally due the complete success of his policies.

The habit of temporizing is one so perilous that it more often brings defeat than even erroneous action. It has even brought into the term a meaning of censure. Mr. Lincoln was a temporizer by nature. He humorously changed the well-known aphorism as to instant action into "Never do today what you can put off till tomorrow." But his temporizing rose to the dignity of supreme patience. His knowledge of human nature was so great that it almost amounted to a sixth sense. He gauged it under all conditions with an infallible accuracy. He knew when to yield and when to be firm with a precision that was almost mechanical. It was this that enabled him so long to hold the balance between the border states and the furious Abolition Party—this that decided him to act when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation and placed it on the ground of being a fit and necessary war measure; this that enabled him to stand all the reviling that came from the disappointed on both sides of the question, the one party because it actually freed no slaves, all states and portion of states within the Union lines being expressly exempted from the provisions of the proclamation; the other party because it asserted the right to take private property without due process of law or proper compensation; and await calmly the moral effect of the act. Thus that gave him strength to withstand the onslaught of his enemies during the last years of the war and to resist overtures which might have swept away a stronger nature less securely welded to his central idea.

A letter of his written on the 4th day of April, 1864, to a general [*sic*] in Kentucky,[6] expresses so clearly his habit and temper of mind in matters which others thought of the greatest urgency, that I cannot forbear to quote it.

> When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March, and May, and July 1862 I made earnest, and successive appeals to the border states to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation, and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best

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[6] Actually this letter was written to Albert G. Hodges, editor of the Frankfort *Commonwealth*: *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Roy P. Basler, Editor, VII (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953), 281–283.

judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it, the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force,—no loss by it any how or any where. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no cavilling.

The war closed, and Lincoln went to Richmond and walked around, called on his old friend and protégé George Pickett, of Pickett's division, viewed the desolation and returned to Washington; and instantly set himself to bring the Southern States into immediate relations with the Union. His every act and word were friendly to the South. He sent messengers abroad with messages of good will—one to an old friend near Lewisburg; "Go to Richmond and get your Legislature together." Before his friend could reach Richmond, Lincoln had been stricken down; the great heart had been stilled; the fine brain had ceased to work. The one friend that the South had, had been slain by an assassin. Lincoln's last act almost had been to order an officer in Maine to let Jacob Thompson escape, illustrating his motive by a story of the boy with the elephant. Stanton's first act on hearing of Lincoln's assassination had been to cancel this order and direct the fugitive's arrest.

Will you believe me if I tell you that there were those who rejoiced at his death and that they were not from the South? The South even then knew that she had received a deadly blow, and she knows it better today than she knew it then. For the best friend she had in the government—the only one, had been slain—and her enemies and his used his death as the motive for her torture. The years that followed embittered her deeply, and clouded her view as to even Lincoln. But the passing years are sweeping away the mist that obscured her vision, and she is coming more and more to see Lincoln as he was, as a great-hearted and large-minded man, who, had he lived, might have been her defender in the hour of her greatest trial—whose last acts were acts of kindness and whose last words were words of good will and peace.

Thomas Nelson Page was born April 23, 1853, on the Oakland Plantation, a few miles from Richmond. He was in his boyhood during the period of the Civil War. After graduation from Washington and Lee University and the University of Virginia Law School, he practised law in Richmond from 1875 to 1893, when he moved to Washington, D. C. He was therefore, from his long residence in the South, in a position to gauge the feeling in that section toward the Martyred President. You may recall that at the Lincoln Memorial Celebration in Washington, where this address was delivered, I stated there were many Southerners in the audience—Civil War veterans and widows and daughters of men who had fought on the Southern side, and I have been told that when the rumors of this speech of Mr. Page's reached the South, the feeling was so strong that he was ostracized by many of his friends and neighbors, and even by his relatives.

As to the "Commemoration Ode"[7] which James Russell Lowell read at Harvard on July 21, 1865, Page points out that no mention was made of Lincoln, who had been assassinated only a little over three months before. There is considerable evidence to show that Lowell had already written the famous sixth stanza, with its great praise of the dead President, but deliberately omitted to read it at the commemoration service at Harvard because he realized the antipathy in his audience to even the name of Lincoln.

> Such was he, our Martyr-Chief,
>   Whom late the Nation he had led,
>   With ashes on her head,
> Wept with the passion of an angry grief:
> Forgive me, if from present things I turn
> To speak what in my heart will beat and burn,
> And hang my wreath on his world-honored urn.
>   Nature, they say, doth dote,
>   And cannot make a man
>   Save on some worn-out plan,
>   Repeating us by rote:
> For him her Old World moulds aside she threw,
>   And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
>   Of the unexhausted West,

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[7] Hamilton Vaughan Bail, "Harvard's Commemoration Day, July 21, 1865," *New England Quarterly*, xv (June, 1942), 257, 267, 274, 275, and 277.

With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.
How beautiful to see
Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;
One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
Not lured by any cheat of birth,
But by his clear-grained human worth,
And brave old wisdom of sincerity!
They knew that outward grace is dust;
They could not choose but trust
In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,
And supple-tempered will
That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,
Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind;
Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.
Nothing of Europe here,
Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
Ere any names of Serf and Peer
Could Nature's equal scheme deface;
Here was a type of the true elder race,
And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face.
I praise him not; it were too late;
And some innative weakness there must be
In him who condescends to victory
Such as the Present gives, and cannot wait,
Safe in himself as in a fate.
So always firmly he;
He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;

These all are gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.[8]

The *New York Times* of July 25, 1865, gave two whole pages to the Harvard memorial service. The addresses and poems were given in full except that of Lowell's Commemoration Ode. At the end of this article is this comment by the reporter: "The Great Poet James Russell Lowell was next introduced and received with great applause. He proceeded to read a beautiful poem of which it is the highest praise to say it was worthy of its distinguished author. I regret not being able to send you a copy." Furthermore, none of the other New York papers or those of Boston published the "Ode," yet the September issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, which appeared in August, printed it in full, including the sixth stanza; and under date of September 5, 1865, Lowell sent fifty bound copies to his friends. The names of most of the recipients of these books are known and it is interesting to note that probably the second copy was sent to Professor Francis James Child, who had asked him to write a poem for the occasion and whose name does not appear on the list.[9] The third copy went to Charles Eliot Norton, the fourth to Lowell's niece, and the fifth to George William Curtis. Norton and Curtis had been early convinced by Lowell of Lincoln's greatness. The first copy no doubt was kept by the poet himself.

That Lowell was the first of the "Brahmins" to recognize the greatness of Lincoln there is little doubt, for as early as January, 1864, he had written in the *North American Review*: "And it is for qualities such as these that we firmly believe History will rank Mr. Lincoln among the most prudent of statesmen and the most successful of rulers. If we wish to appreciate him, we have only to conceive the inevitable chaos in which we should now be weltering, had a weak man or an unwise one been chosen in his stead."[10]

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[8] *The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell*, Complete Edition (Boston, 1871), 431–432.

[9] Hamilton Vaughan Bail, "James Russell Lowell's Ode," Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, XXXVII (1943), Third Quarter, 200–202.

[10] *North American Review*, XCVIII (January, 1864), 239.

No poet could have composed this sixth stanza on Lincoln unless he could have put his whole heart and soul into it. From letters written at the time, we learn that Lowell was exhausted after the Harvard service and the Phi Beta Kappa exercises over which he presided, and therefore was in no condition to write this sixth stanza and insert it as an afterthought.

Joseph B. Eastman—A Study in Public Service

Claude Moore Fuess[1]

This paper is a somewhat hazardous venture into almost contemporary biography—hazardous for at least two reasons. Many of those in this room, especially those with railroad connections, may have known "Joe" Eastman very well and may have had dealings with him of which I have heard nothing. On the other hand, because he was never a publicity seeker, like General Hugh Johnson or Harold Ickes, some of you may confuse him with his distant and more opulent cousin, George Eastman, the Kodak King. Thus, for my present purposes, some of you may know him too well and others not well enough. I may possibly learn more from you than you will from me; but my mission will be discharged if I can at least make clear what he was and what he did.

During the Hoover administration, when Joseph Bartlett Eastman had been for more than a decade on the Interstate Commerce Commission, three of us were lunching with him, and somebody said to Joe—everybody called him "Joe"—"I hear you've been offered a railroad job at a salary of more than $50,000." "It could be," he cautiously admitted. "It isn't your first offer either, is it, Joe?" "Maybe not," was the modest answer, in the Amherst tradition. Then I put in my oar—he had been a year before me at college—and asked, "Aren't you ever tempted to accept a position like that, with an enormous income, as compared to what you get slaving for the government, and with a lot less grief?" "Well," replied Joe meditatively, "probably it is a luxury for me to stay on here, just as it would be to own a yacht, but I guess I can afford it."

This reply was characteristic of the person of whom Mr. Justice Brandeis once said, "Joe Eastman has more interest in the public service and less in his own career than any man I have ever known." From the day he was graduated until he died almost forty years later, Joseph B. Eastman was constantly working for the people, not for management or for labor, not for railroad operators or railroad employees or shippers, but for the good of the American economic and social order. Although he never ran for office and was even in doubt concerning his political party, he held one appointive job after another in gradually widening areas. Calvin Coolidge never held an appointive office; Eastman never held an elective one. When he died at the age of sixty-two, worn out like an over-used internal combustion engine, it was said of him that he had "set a pattern of intelligent devotion to the public welfare which, if extensively recognized, would greatly uplift the character of public service in the United States."

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[1] This paper was read at the January, 1950, meeting.

One incident will show the quality of his integrity. On December 19, 1918, President Wilson nominated Eastman to the Interstate Commerce Commission—at only thirty-six, he was the youngest man ever named for that office. The Commission legally had to be bipartisan, and the membership was such that the existing vacancy could be filled only by a Republican. When Eastman heard the news, eager though he was for the position, he promptly wrote to Senator Lodge to explain that he was an independent in politics and could not permit a misleading label to be attached to him. No one in the Senate chose to make an issue of the matter, and he was confirmed without any discussion; he never knew exactly why or how. Again and again, Eastman had to explain, to the embarrassment of his sponsors, that he had no party affiliations. As a matter of fact, he voted for Taft in 1908, for Theodore Roosevelt in 1912, for Wilson in 1916, for Cox in 1920, for La Follette in 1924, for "Al" Smith in 1928, for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, and for Willkie in 1940. No one could have been more discriminating, or more completely independent.

His independence was supported by equally conspicuous courage. When he was confirmed for the Interstate Commerce Commission on January 24, 1919, the railroads were still under wartime operation by the federal government; and Director-General McAdoo had formally recommended that national control should be extended for a period of five years, until January 1, 1924. Soon after, the Commission, with one member dissenting, presented to the Senate its official conclusion that "with the adoption of appropriate provisions and safeguards for regulation under private ownership, it would not be wise or best at this time to assume Government ownership or operation of the railroads of this country."

When Eastman took the oath of office, then, he was aware that the Commission had placed itself on record in favor of a return to private operation and that it was unnecessary at that moment for him to express his personal views. Nevertheless, after much sleepless soul-searching, he sent direct to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce a comprehensive letter arguing for the continued operation of railroads by the federal government and maintaining that, on the whole, it had been a success during the war. He reached this conclusion, not impulsively, but by a process of measured reasoning on the basis of the evidence, as Robinson Crusoe balanced his blessings against his calamities. George Creel once remarked to Eastman's sister that Joe's thinking reminded him of an elephant's crossing a bridge—putting down each foot carefully and testing the strength of the structure before making an advance. When she told her brother of Creel's comment, he smiled and replied, "Ask him if he ever heard of an elephant's falling through a bridge. He usually somehow gets across the stream!"

No small amount of temerity was required for the youngest member of the Commission in both age and service to take issue with his new colleagues on such a fundamental and controversial matter. Some of them were annoyed, and in private called him "fresh" and "naïve," but they shortly had to recognize that they had in their midst that rare bird, a completely uncontrolled thinker—a man who cared more for the approval of his conscience than for his personal advancement. Washington lobbyists discovered that Eastman could not be bribed or flattered or coerced. Somebody said to me last spring, "Joe Eastman set the Interstate Commerce Commission in a turmoil shortly after he arrived in Washington and kept it boiling until he died." Although it wasn't quite so bad as that, he did become on the Commission what Mr. Justice Holmes had already become on the Supreme Bench—the member whose dissenting opinions were closely studied and universally respected.

Different types of Presidents would have been glad not to reappoint him—Harding in 1922 and Hoover in 1929, because he was too liberal, and Roosevelt in 1936, because he was too conservative. But when the choice had to be made, they did not dare to face the outcry which would have arisen if they had turned him down. During his long career, Eastman became hardened to abuse. Until 1933, railroad executives felt that he was a radical, an amateur who did not understand their difficulties. After 1933, he was condemned by labor leaders as a reactionary because he would not support their demands. I cannot see that he was prejudiced at that period. He was serving as best he could the interests of the general public, let the chips fall where they might.

How did he develop his political and economic philosophy? He was born in 1882, in the village of Katonah, New York (now inundated, although for the moment rather feebly, by Manhattan's water supply), where his father was the Presbyterian clergyman. He came from sound Yankee stock and an exceptionally literate home. In Amherst, which he entered from Pottsville, Pennsylvania, his father's second parish, he was distinguished chiefly as editor of the college paper and leader of the debating team. His philosophy professor, the eminent Charles E. Garman, was accustomed to lead his students through the morasses of atheism and agnosticism to the safe meadow of orthodoxy, following a trail which he had carefully charted. Joe Eastman dared to press him with embarrassing queries which interrupted the teacher's progress. Finally the ailing and impatient professor sent for Joe and said, "Mr. Eastman, your skepticism is ruining my class. Will you kindly refrain from further disputation or else cease to attend it!" After this rebuke, Joe sat silently through the remaining lectures, but his comments in the fraternity house were pungent and resentful. Later, from the bench of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Eastman sometimes punctured attorneys' arguments with the same type of penetrating, irritating questions; but they could not silence him, as Professor Garman had done.

Eastman's first intercollegiate debate, with Bowdoin, found him arguing the negative of the subject, "It is for the public interest that employers recognize trade unions in the arrangement of wage schedules"—and, believe it or not, he carried his team to victory! Then, as later, an incurable misogynist, he presented eloquently the affirmative of the question, "Resolved, that the proximity of Smith and Mount Holyoke is detrimental to the interests of Amherst College, in the broad sense."

In public speaking, as in everything else, Eastman was a slow starter but a good finisher. For example, although he was far from being a natural athlete, he made himself into an excellent and most exasperating tennis player, who often, by his "lobs," tempted his opponents into recklessness, and defeated competitors rated as better than he. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, but only at the second drawing. He was not very popular as a Freshman, but ended as Class President in his Senior year. Nobody ever described him as "brilliant." The adjectives applied to him by his classmates were "steady" and "reliable," "dependable old hoss"—and it was the same all the rest of his life.

The chief influence on his thinking as an undergraduate was not the faculty, but President Theodore Roosevelt, the "fighting champion of the people." Eastman and I were graduated in that antediluvian Golden Era between the Spanish War and World War I—in America, at least, probably the happiest and most hopeful epoch this planet has ever known. However it may have been at Harvard in those days, up in the Connecticut Valley we had no doubt that the millennium couldn't be very far off. The idea of progress through evolution and the doctrine of human perfectibility were in the air, and we had no Spengler or Toynbee to disillusion us. Nobody could possibly have predicted, or have found any reason for predicting, the tragic years that lay ahead. "Teddy" Roosevelt, the crusader, the leader of reforming movements, was for Joe Eastman a knight in shining silver, the warrior who every man-at-arms would wish to be.

Eastman apparently never thought of going into business, like many of his classmates, nor did his religious views permit of his becoming a clergyman, like his father and grandfather. His desire to help the underprivileged in a practical way led him to accept a South End House Fellowship of five hundred dollars, in Boston, under another fascinating personality—the late Robert A. Woods. Union Park, only a few blocks from the Ritz-Carlton and Bonwit Teller, was, and is, a district of boardinghouses and cheap apartments, where Woods, also an Amherst graduate, was carrying out a program of "social reconstruction." There Eastman settled in the autumn of 1904, to learn how the other half lived. Woods was a truly remarkable philanthropist, a pioneer in "settlement work," with a gift for attracting younger men into his orbit and imbuing them with his indomitable, altruistic spirit. Under his direction and inspiration, Eastman was soon conducting classes, listening to hard-luck stories, and trying in his inexperienced way to alleviate human misery.

But it was the operation of government, and particularly of municipal politics, that attracted him most. Woods tried intelligently to "size up" his assistants and guide them into fields where they would be most effective; and when he ascertained Eastman's bent, he encouraged him to accept the secretaryship of the Public Franchise League, a small informal group of high-minded citizens backed by a Boston lawyer, Louis D. Brandeis, and a Boston merchant, Edward A. Filene. Brandeis, seeing the potentialities of the young Eastman, made him his confidential assistant in his battles with the Boston Elevated, the Consolidated Gas Company, and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Years later, Eastman wrote, "I was a boy of New England stock and conservative tendencies. The association with the men in the League, and particularly Justice Brandeis, gave me a new point of view and undoubtedly changed the current of my life. Justice Brandeis had the most powerful intellect with which I have ever had the good fortune to come in contact, and I have met a goodly number of eminent men."

Under Brandeis's sponsorship, Eastman soon had a tiny office in the Equitable Building, with a salary of $1,000 (usually paid in small weekly checks from Mr. Filene), an ancient typewriter, and plenty of pigeons to feed on the window sill. He soon became acquainted with the play of sinister personal and social forces beneath the surface of boss rule and ward politics. He learned much about the practical administration of the city government. He also became involved in Brandeis's long duel with Charles S. Mellen, President of the New Haven and the Boston and Maine railroads, and trained himself to read a balance sheet with an appraising eye. He carried on research projects, made digests of documents, appeared before legislative committees; indeed, he assembled most of the statistics for the famous Interstate Commerce Commission Report which described the record of the New Haven as "an amazing narrative of reckless and profligate financial management."

Theodore Roosevelt, Robert A. Woods, Louis D. Brandeis, all three, concurrently and successively, each in a different way, moulded the thinking of the sensitive and susceptible Amherst graduate; but it was Brandeis whose character, ideas, and methods left upon him the deepest impression. By 1913, however, Mellen had retired under fire, and Eastman, urged by his friends and feeling that his job for the Public Franchise League was completed, resigned as its secretary, planning to resume some legal studies which he had undertaken years before. Meanwhile, the employees of the Boston Elevated Railroad had formed a carmen's union and instituted proceedings for higher wages. The union leader, James H. Vahey, asked Brandeis to recommend somebody competent to act as its counsel. "I will name a man for you if you will let me fix his compensation," answered Brandeis. "Why do you want to do that?" inquired Vahey. "Because he doesn't know his own value well enough to fix a proper compensation for himself!"

So it was that Joseph B. Eastman, although not an attorney, accepted the union's retainer and entered at once on a comprehensive investigation of the wage system of the Boston Elevated. He had learned how to uncover, assimilate, and integrate facts; and he put up such persuasive pleas before the arbitrators—James J. Storrow, James L. Richards, and James H. Vahey—that they were unanimous in recommending a comprehensive increase in pay for the men. Both Storrow and Richards, although more conservative than Eastman, were tremendously impressed by his arguments and became his friends for life. A few months later, as counsel for another union which was pressing the Middlesex and Boston Street Railway Company for higher wages, Eastman moved from the immediate issue into the broader field of economics, maintaining that the financial condition of the company should be immaterial to the question of fixing fair compensation, and that wages, in whatever circumstances, should be sufficient to enable a workman to support his family in health and comfort, and to build up adequate reserves for his old age. His reasoning undoubtedly had a powerful effect on the policies of public-service corporations.

Eastman at this period was guaranteed election if he would run for the General Court, but his experience on Beacon Hill with what he called "the small army of professional lobbyists" had discouraged him. To a friend he wrote, "It is a crime the way this Legislature is pulled and hauled by private interests." For the moment he was uncertain of his future. He had gained immensely in self-confidence, but no attractive opportunity presented itself. In 1913, however, the Washburn Bill had met a popular demand by creating the Public Service Commission of Massachusetts; and a year later, when one of its original members, George W. Anderson, resigned, Governor David I. Walsh disregarded the warnings of his political advisers and appointed Eastman to the Commission, at a salary of eight thousand dollars. He was then only thirty-three. One of his fraternity mates wrote him, "While I don't agree with a lot of your crazy ideas I will do you the justice of saying that I believe you are sincerely honest and will be open to conviction, and that is why I am glad to see you appointed." This was a feeling which was shared by many others throughout the Commonwealth.

Before Eastman had been on the Public Service Commission six months, he was recognized as its dominating and best-informed member. Soon he had to confront the Bay State Rate Case, the most complicated of its kind that any Massachusetts commission had ever been called upon to settle; and he, *solus et unus*, prepared the report and order requiring the company to cancel a proposed new schedule of increased charges. It was in this report that he committed himself to the "prudent-investment" theory of valuation of which he was later to become the ardent exponent. He also drafted a careful analysis, covering 317 pages, of the financial situation of the New Haven Railroad, reaching the conclusion that the monetary transactions of that company had been "numerous, intricate, and confusing"—certainly a masterpiece of understatement. Never until World War II did Eastman reach the stage where he trusted the management of the New Haven; and his frequent and uninhibited correspondence with Mr. E. G. Buckland, its vice-president and general counsel, is packed with criticism, satire, and some very blunt moralizing.

By this time, however, the Boston Chamber of Commerce had decided that Eastman did not really have horns and a tail, and that he might be justified in some of his accusations. His good angel, Brandeis, although vigorously opposed by a group of fifty-five of the "solid men of Boston," had been approved in 1916 as President Wilson's nominee for the Supreme Court, and had moved to Washington. Two years later, when a vacancy unexpectedly occurred on the Interstate Commerce Commission, Brandeis recommended Eastman and, to secure corroboration for his own admittedly partial opinion, asked Commissioner Robert W. Woolley to go to Boston and look Eastman over. Woolley, a Kentucky Democrat, had no idea what Brandeis had in mind, and Eastman himself had only vague suspicions. Although Woolley was eleven years older, the two men took to each other spontaneously, and Woolley reported to the President, "That man Eastman is one of the most remarkable fellows I ever met." This, of course, was no news to Brandeis.

Eastman's professional qualifications could have been catalogued as follows: a considerable familiarity with transportation facts and figures, and a broad knowledge of common carriers and their problems; an intimate acquaintance with the difficulties of employees, gained while he had been counsel for the unions; a theory, already well formed, regarding the proper relationship of transportation, in all its phases, to the communities which it serves; an orderly economic philosophy, the product of practical experience and much meditation; and a devotion, deep-seated and unselfish, to the public welfare. However young he was in years, no other member of the Commission had ever been better equipped to meet its peculiar responsibilities.

Eastman was now, at thirty-seven, identified with what has been called by one authority, with some obvious exaggeration, "the most powerful body in the world, administrative or otherwise." At the close of the report on the very first case in which he participated are the words, "Eastman, Commissioner, dissents"; and from that date on we find him announcing, "I find it difficult to go along with my colleagues," or, "I am in doubt in regard to this case," or, "I must frankly express disagreement." Any honest man's response to current issues is bound to reflect his basic creed. Eastman's opinions, both concurring and dissenting, were the inevitable product of firm convictions, and as a group constitute a pattern the elements of which blend into a coherent and orderly whole. Even his superficial inconsistencies prove on examination to be reconcilable. Any one familiar with his habits of thought and his estimate of relative values could usually predict his reaction to completely new problems. Unforeseen considerations naturally had to be adjusted to his principles. Occasionally the arguments were so much confused as to create doubt. But Eastman was always, consciously or unconsciously, aiming at justice for Mr. Average Citizen; and his reflections over the years led him to conclusions which fitted together like iron filings clustering around a magnet. He never dissented from himself. Once he said in Washington, "They've been calling me a 'crack-pot,' but I guess, after what

I've gone through, I can take it. Even if I am cracked, my theories will hold water!" Dissenting opinions on the Interstate Commerce Commission accomplish almost nothing, except to enable "Lone Wolves" to howl. The decision of the majority, whether in a division or in the full Commission, even when close, is final; and Eastman's vigorous expressions of disapproval had no effect on the fortunes of the litigants. Over a quarter of a century, however, he did accomplish much in the education of his colleagues as well as of himself.

It is not my intention to inflict even on the tolerant members of this Society any dissection of the technical questions with which Eastman and his colleagues had to struggle. To a layman the reports of the Commission often seem to be written in a "maze of jargon." What is a "combination rate" which "makes on" the Ohio River? What is "fourth section relief"? What is a "joint through rate"? What is "Rule 77"? What is the "intermediate rule"? As I have perused diligently the records of the Commission, I have found myself learning what amounts to a new dialect, if not an actual foreign tongue. Considering his lack of legal training, Eastman mastered this lingo with amazing rapidity, and very few suspected that he had never taken bar examinations.

However puzzling their language, his opinions had one common denominator—a regard for the public good. The "recapture clause" of the Transportation Act of 1920 made it necessary for Eastman to pay much attention to the valuation of railroads—an unromantic and never-ending task. His advocacy of the "prudent-investment" theory as contrasted with that of the "cost of reproduction" was opposed by the railroads, by several of his Commission associates, and even by the Supreme Court; but he stuck by his guns, believing that he was working for the good of the people, and his position has been vindicated. He made mighty efforts to reduce the costs of operation by consolidating competing lines; but he was opposed to the formation of holding companies to bring about combinations for which authorization could be obtained through no other process. He did not like banker control of railroads and sharply condemned the conduct of certain companies in allowing their securities to be marketed by single preferred banking houses. He criticized the depletion of railroad resources by what he described as "opulent awards made to bankers and lawyers in connection with reorganization." In the 1930's, when railroad revenues were falling off and wages had been reduced, he urged railroad executives to relinquish part of their salaries voluntarily and actually succeeded in getting them lowered to a maximum of $60,000 a year. In sugaring this bitter pill, Eastman remarked:

> One thing certain is that money is by no means the only compensation received by a railroad president or even by a lesser executive. The best compensation of all —in my judgment a more effective one than is commonly supposed—is the joy of creative work well done, particularly when it involves the element of public service.

Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of Morgan and Company, once expressed this high ideal in almost precisely the same words—a fact all the more interesting because Lamont, like Eastman, was a minister's son, brought up, like Eastman, in a Katonah parsonage.

The Great Depression which overwhelmed the country after 1929 had, of course, a disastrous effect on the railroads, which had not done badly in the 1920's. Some relief was essential; and early in the first Roosevelt administration, following suggestions offered by Eastman, the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act was passed by the Congress, and Eastman was shortly appointed by the President as Federal Coördinator of Transportation. One primary purpose of the measure was to eliminate waste; but unfortunately the railroad labor organizations tied Eastman hand and foot by insisting on the provision that reforms must not further reduce the number of employees. Eastman, once again with the interests of the public in mind, opposed this clause, saying, "I do not believe the way to solve the problem of unemployment is to retain work which is lost motion, and amounts to waste and inefficiency." In his attempt to control "featherbedding," Eastman was blocked by the unions, which did all that they could secretly to undermine his authority. He now found himself in the unhappy position of being upbraided by his former allies; and some union leaders, completely lacking in gratitude, never forgave him for not going all out for their cause.

Although in his first report as federal coördinator Eastman reiterated his conviction that, as he phrased it, "theoretically and logically public ownership meets the known ills of the present situation better than any other remedy," he was not ready to advise it in 1934. He had always regarded the question as one of practical expediency rather than of political theory, and he now felt that theory and logic could be disregarded. It was no time, he stated, for the federal government to assume several billion dollars of additional debt; and he was sure that under federal control very few savings could be accomplished if the unions persisted in their obstinacy. When he announced his views, conservatives hailed him as a sinner returned to the fold.

Eastman tried desperately as federal coördinator to live up to his title and please everybody, but succeeded in placating neither management nor labor. The companies promptly reorganized the almost defunct Association of American Railroads and through it did all they could to thwart some of his most cherished plans. In commenting on their attitude, Eastman said:

> At bottom, the trouble is that the managements think narrowly in terms of their own particular roads, rather than in broader terms. Quite naturally and quite properly they put the welfare of their own particular road first and foremost. What they do not appreciate, as I think they should, is the extent to which the individual welfare will be promoted by action which is for joint benefit or common good.

Once Eastman burst out, somewhat ingenuously, "I never realized until I took this job how many completely selfish pressure groups could mess things up in Washington." Even when he produced a highly intelligent plan for reorganizing the Interstate Commerce Commission, a few of his colleagues, apparently jealous of his power, managed to frustrate his designs. By sheer persistence, however, he was able to push through Congress measures for the regulation of common carriers on the highways and of water carriers in interstate and foreign commerce. It was at this time that he declared, "The transportation system is a unit and must be dealt with as such. . . . The various agencies interlock and react, one against another, in a multitude of ways. The system cannot permanently be half regulated and half unregulated. If the principles of a battle royal are to govern, it is unfair to handcuff the railroads."

The office of Federal Coördinator of Transportation lapsed in 1936, without many regrets, and Eastman returned to his regular duties as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. During his three years he had initiated and carried through an unprecedented amount of special research, and more than sixty separate reports, packed with information, were issued from his office. In addition, he delivered fifty-two prepared addresses and numerous informal talks. It is true that although in theory he possessed great power, he thought it injudicious to exercise it, but he did set the tone of thinking for the railroad world. One eminent authority, commenting on Eastman's achievements, has remarked, "His ideas, although but slowly accepted, will inevitably lead to improvements on a plane never before directly reached by our government."

Although Eastman respected President Roosevelt, he found him difficult to deal with, especially on matters in which organized labor had a part; and he was hardly on the periphery of the White House inner circle. On one painful occasion the President, having summoned to his office the heads of various important government agencies, asked them to send him direct their reports in advance of publication. One by one those present agreed, some of them reluctantly; but when Eastman's turn came, he said, "I'm sorry, Mr. President, but as you must be aware, the Interstate Commerce Commission is an agent of Congress and created by it, and it is my duty to report to it first." Mr. Roosevelt was much displeased by Eastman's open criticisms of labor officials and in reprisal, when the latter's term expired on December 31, 1936, he did not reappoint him until July 9, 1937. In the interval, of course, Eastman continued to function, although uncertain of his status. He strenuously objected to having the independent regulatory commissions put in a position where the performance of their function would be subject to executive control. He trusted then, and always, in the efficiency of small governing bodies properly organized and devoted to the public interest. As federal coördinator, he had had his own chance to become a dictator, and had rejected it.

Eastman was now conceded to be the foremost authority in the country—indeed in the world—on transportation, and was consulted by the Congress on all legislation relating to common carriers. In 1939, his fellow members of the Interstate Commerce Commission showed their confidence in him by voluntarily choosing him as chairman for three years instead of for the customary one-year term. When we entered World War II in December, 1941, it was inevitable that everybody, including the President, should turn to him for leadership in the field of which he was the acknowledged master. As Director of Defense Transportation, charged with the coördination of shipping on railroads, motor carriers, and water carriers, he took a prompt stand against government operation, thereby securing the fullest cooperation of railroad executives. They unquestionably did their best in the emergency, and were even disposed to alter their regulations upon request without the necessity of coercion. Eastman influenced transportation agencies as much as possible through education and persuasion and was greatly pleased with the results. Indeed, he publicly attributed the excellent performance of railroad operation during the war to the decision to leave the management in private hands. Again his criterion for measuring efficiency was the result on the public welfare.

On February 17, 1944, when a group of his admirers held a dinner in Washington to celebrate his completion of a quarter of a century of service on the Interstate Commerce Commission, Eastman responded in what he called a "twelve-point primer," summing up what he had learned over the years. Speaking of the Commission and similar bureaus, he asserted emphatically that "they must not be under the domination of either the President or Congress or of anything else than their independent judgment of the facts and the law." In one illuminating confessional paragraph, he said:

> Sitting in dignity and looking down on the applicants from the elevation of a judicial bench has its dangers. A reversal of the position now and then is good for the soul. It has for many years been my good fortune to appear rather frequently before legislative or congressional committees. They are a better safeguard against inflation than the O.P.A.

Commenting reminiscently on the attacks which he had been obliged to endure from vested interests, he said:

> Power is not a permanent but a shifting thing. I can well remember the time when it was dangerous to incur the displeasure of bankers, but there has been no danger in this since 1932. It later became a great danger to incur the displeasure of farm or labor organizations. There is nothing more important than to curb abuse of power, wherever it may reside, and power is always subject to abuse.

A few weeks later "Joe" Eastman was dead at sixty-two, the victim of unceasing toil and cumulative fatigue. Then, as so often, he reaped his reward. His passing at that critical moment in the war was viewed as a national calamity. Even those who had disagreed with him testified to his integrity and exceptionally high ideals, and he was hailed by conservatives and liberals alike as the perfect public servant.

Some of you must have seen him sitting with his elbows resting on the table in that imposing room reserved for Commission hearings. By middle life he had become rotund, with rosy cheeks and a domed forehead from which the brown hair was slowly receding. His manner was affable and he seemed to be easygoing, but his jaw was square and firm, and his blue eyes could be keen and searching. Until he was almost sixty, he kept himself in condition by playing squash and tennis, and he usually spent his summer vacations in Canada indulging in that sport of gentlemen—dry-fly fishing.

Aside from these he had few recreations. A decidedly eligible bachelor, he seldom went out to social affairs, and a hostess who secured him for a cocktail party was justified in boasting of her prize. It would be wrong to imagine him as discouragingly virtuous. Although he was temperate in his habits, he was no ascetic and knew well the difference between Scotch and Rye. His collection of pipes was the envy of all his friends.

For years Eastman lived with his sister in a modest house in Cathedral Road, walking each morning to his office, a distance of nearly three miles. He never owned an automobile, even when his salary would have justified it, preferring to travel by taxicab. He was a simple, unassuming person who detested "stuffed shirts." In 1943, he escorted a lady to the Union Station and climbed aboard her train to see her off. Somehow it started before he could dismount. When the conductor came along and found that Eastman had no ticket, he said, "That's just like a lot of you fellows—don't buy a ticket and then think you can get away with it!" Joe made no reply, but quietly paid his fare. As the conductor continued down the aisle, still sputtering, somebody said to him, "Don't you realize who that is?" "No—and I don't give a damn!" was the reply. "Well, that's Eastman, the Director of Transportation." "Joe Eastman? My God!" cried the conductor, and then started back to apologize. Joe wouldn't even let him open his mouth. "You're absolutely right, conductor," he said, "and I was entirely to blame."

Eastman's passion and capacity for continuous hard work made him a legendary figure in the Interstate Commerce Building. Evening after evening he would stay alone in his office, sitting in a deep chair with a board across his knee, pondering columns of figures. When he had charge in the 1920's of the notorious Southern Class Rate Investigation, his two ablest assistants unexpectedly resigned, and he carried on virtually alone the hearings in what was probably the most complicated matter ever to come before the Commission. He called his report on this case his *magnum opus*; and indeed it was to him what *Paradise Lost* was to Milton, or *The Forsyte Saga* was to Galsworthy. Much of this labor was unnecessary, but he believed that only through a personal study of the issues involved could he develop a proper understanding of the problems and be just to everybody.

With this desire to be fair-minded went a genuine kindness of heart and a sympathy for the underdog which went back to his early days in South End House. One of his weaknesses was a disposition to judge subordinates too leniently, and he had the reputation of being gullible and too softhearted. It was not difficult to hoodwink once a man whose instinct was to trust those around him. But when he was betrayed or deceived, as occasionally happened, he was terrible in his wrath.

So far as I have been able to determine, Eastman was never tempted by money or power or fame. He once wrote:

> It is a common belief that the desire for financial gain is the only motive that will impel men to their best endeavors. I challenge that tenet whole-heartedly. I was brought up in a minister's family; I have enjoyed the friendship of doctors, schoolteachers, and professors, and I have had an opportunity of observing men in public life as well as many engaged in private business. It is my profound conviction that the best things which have been done in the world have been impelled by higher motives than the desire for gain.

This theory Eastman exemplified in his private life and public career, again and again declining offers which would have made him rich in a short period. When his few needs were satisfied, he asked nothing more in the way of recompense for his services. At least three times he imperiled his reappointment by a free expression of his opinions when the decision was in doubt.

Naturally he had to defend himself against attack. At various periods and by different people he was described as a "radical" and a "reactionary," "an economic royalist" and a "New Dealer," but he was never greatly troubled except when he was denounced as "socialistic." " 'Socialistic,' " he declared, "is a catchword loosely used as a means of discredit in default of argument." Writing in 1924 to E. G. Buckland, whose views he did not like, he said:

> I thank you for sending me the address of Martin W. Littleton to the American Defense Society. . . . I have glanced through this address and am not inclined to take much stock in it. It resembles so many of the unwarrantable charges that have become current in the past few years to the effect that various citizens are "reds," in the pay of Soviet Russia. I know of instances where such charges have been directed against persons with whom I am intimately acquainted and for whom I am able to vouch.

All this has a very modern ring, and I have no doubt that if Eastman were still alive and still on the Commission, some Hickenlooper or McKellar would describe him as un-American. In the end, however, Eastman earned the regard of some of his most outspoken critics. In the 1920's, when he was assailing the management of the New Haven, one of its officers said to me, "This fellow Eastman is just a bloodhound on our trail—but at any rate he keeps us moving!" Men high up in the councils of the Association of American Railroads have within a few weeks expressed their approval of what he did for their industry. One of them remarked, "He told us the truth, and it was good for us. We knew he had no axe to grind!"

The Lausanne Peace Conference of 1922-1923

JOSEPH CLARK GREW[1]

THE Lausanne Peace Conference of 1922-1923, about which I am venturing to talk today, was one of the most dramatic international meetings that I have ever attended. How could it be otherwise when such well-known figures as Mussolini, Lord Curzon, Venizelos, Poincaré, General Ismet Pasha, now Ismet Inönü, President of the Turkish Republic, and other outstanding statesmen participated? After sitting for three months in the autumn of 1922 and the winter of 1923 the conference literally blew up and it was not until three months later that it reassembled, and finally, after another three months, produced a treaty of peace between Turkey and the Allies of the First World War.

We Americans, since we had never gone to war with Turkey, were present only as so-called observers, our duty being two-fold: first, to help in every proper way toward the attainment of peace and, second, to protect legitimate American interests in the Near East. During the first part of the conference our representatives were Richard W. Child, Ambassador to Italy; Admiral Mark Bristol, High Commissioner to Turkey; and the present speaker, who was then Minister to Switzerland. In the second phase of the conference he alone represented the United States.

The origins of the Lausanne Conference were historically of marked interest and significance in the development of Turkey's future world relations. The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was not an easy process. I well remember those early years of the Republic for I was closely associated with that process of transition. Those were the years of great reforms which profoundly affected Turkish life—the new law codes, new emphasis upon education, the emancipation of women, and many other progressive and constructive developments.

I remember the days when Angora was little more than an undeveloped provincial town, adjoining the ancient citadel, almost bereft of trees and with a mosquito-infested swamp on the outskirts. Malaria was rife. Washington was probably even more primitive when it was first chosen as our own nation's capital. In fact, thirty-three years went by before the foreign diplomats could be persuaded to move there from Philadelphia. In Angora our representatives there before my own arrival in 1927, Robert Imbrie and Howland Shaw, had to live in a railway car on a siding because modern habitation was unavailable or nonexistent. It was not uncommon in those days to see a half-dozen or more bodies hanging from the execution tripods in the main square of the town. Admiral Bristol, our High Commissioner, lived in Constantinople, now Istanbul. Politics seemed fairly simple in those days, too, for only one political party existed, and that was the Government party.

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[1] This paper was read at the November, 1949, meeting.

My own recollections take the form of a series of clichés. Far back, in 1905, I attended, as a visitor, the Selamlik, and saw the Sultan Abdul Hamid drive through the narrow streets of Constantinople to attend the Friday rites. Picturesqueness and beauty were there in full measure, the fascination of the mosques and bazaars in old Stambul, the perennial loveliness of the Bosporus. How keenly I remember the five summers later spent on that ineffably beautiful waterway. But in those days of the Ottoman Empire, it was not the beauty of a free society. The Turkish people were still in shackles.

Then came the First World War and eventually the Lausanne Conference. After the Allies had completed their peace treaty, General Ismet and I sat down at a small table and together negotiated a treaty between Turkey and the United States.

It was a good treaty, both from the American and the Turkish points of view. Even today, that treaty, although it is now as dead as a doornail, is commemorated by a bronze plaque in the Beau Rivage Hotel at Ouchy, Lausanne. In some respects, indeed, it was more favorable to American interests even than the treaty negotiated by the Allies was to their interests because I simply outsat General Ismet. I brought it home to Washington, well pleased and expecting the accolade, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." But, alas, alas, domestic politics intervened. There were still in our country elements which were dissatisfied that I had not been able to pull impossible rabbits from impossible hats. I was openly accused in the United States Senate of having sold my nation's birthright for a mess of pottage. The Americans of Armenian origin in the United States wanted to obtain all of Armenia as a sort of independent fatherland. Delegations used to come from New York to see me in Washington to protest against my having failed to carry out their wishes. I used to say, "Gentlemen, I would have been delighted to carry out your wishes if you had not neglected one little detail." The delegations always bridled and asked what mistake they had made. I replied, "You overlooked one little thing: You failed to send an American army of 300,000 men to take Armenia by force and to keep it." The debate in the Senate was close but my treaty was finally defeated by six votes. Then, a few years later, I was sent as the first American Ambassador to the new Turkish Republic to negotiate a new treaty.

Ah, but times had changed then. By that time the Turks were riding high, wide, and handsome. My new treaty was duly negotiated in Angora. By that time the Armenians in our country had shot their bolt, and while this second treaty was not one-half so favorable to American interests as the first one, it passed the Senate viva voce without even a tallied vote. Such are politics! But I was satisfied. The relations between Turkey and the United States were then on a firm treaty foundation and the ground was laid for future healthy development.

To go back to the origins of the Lausanne Conference, there was, during the war, the British invasion of Gallipoli. If my history is correct, the British commanding general, after swarming ashore on the beaches at Swan Bay, allowed his troops some twenty-four hours to wash their clothes and rest, before proceeding to the attack. At that critical moment, the story has it, and I believe the story is accurate, the Turkish line across the Gallipoli peninsula had in its center a dangerous unfilled gap through which any invading army could have poured. This situation was reported to the German general, Liman von Sanders, in command of the defense of Constantinople, but his orders appear to have been delayed. And then it was that a comparatively young Turkish colonel on his own initiative himself gave the order to fill the gap and moved his regiment into the unfilled area to complete the Turkish line. When the Allies arrived the next day, it was too late. The gap had been filled. Those twenty-four hours of rest and clothes-washing had been fatal to the attack. Perhaps I need hardly say that the name of the Turkish colonel who had taken the responsibility and given the command to fill the line of defense was Mustapha Kemal, later President Kemal Atatürk, the George Washington of the Turkish Republic.

I will not take up your time with a detailed account of the developments of the next four years. Suffice it to say that in the Armistice of Mudros in 1918, after Turkey had capitulated, and the grim Peace Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, Turkey, with two governments functioning, one in Constantinople and the other in Angora, was reduced to a helpless fraction of its former self. The Allies, being busy with other things, then apparently forgot all about Turkey and overlooked the fact that the Sultan had refused to ratify the Treaty of Sèvres and that the nationalists had simply repudiated it. Thus Turkey and the Allies were still at war.

In the meantime, the Greeks, incited largely by Lloyd George, had in 1919 invaded Anatolia. But the Turks, magnificent fighters that they were, led by Mustapha Kemal and General Ismet Pasha, drove the Greeks from Asia Minor in September, 1922, and the Armistice of Mudanya was signed on October 11, 1922, by which Turkey retained all of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. It was in that situation and atmosphere that the Lausanne Conference was called in the autumn of 1922. By then the Turks were full of confidence, as they had good reason to be. Some of the Allies failed to recognize the great change that had come about in Turkey since the Armistice of Mudros and the Treaty of Sèvres. They pounded the conference table and demanded one concession after another. General Ismet Pasha sat quietly and simply said "No" to almost everything. He was in the driver's seat and knew it. The Allies had no stomach to fight so soon again.

Today a strong Turkey stands out as a force for stability in the Eastern Mediterranean area. This is a Turkey determined to maintain its national integrity, but mindful of its responsibilities to coöperate with other freedom-loving nations to create the kind of world in which it can survive as a free nation and proceed with its national development.

The announcement in 1945 by President Inönü that new political parties to supersede the single Government party would be permitted in Turkey was a tangible indication of the consolidation of the Republic. In the last four years, the multi-party system has come to be recognized as a permanent feature of Turkish political life. While united on foreign policy, the various parties are expressing themselves openly in the Grand National Assembly, in the press, and in public meetings, on the differences which separate them in internal affairs. They, as well as the Turkish people, have been gaining valuable experience in democratic processes, learning the necessity of getting along with each other, even though holding opposing views, in such a way as to promote rather than endanger the national security. The world will watch with great interest, as further evidence of the maturity of the Turkish people, the general elections scheduled for 1950.

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

At the very beginning interest, of course, centered on Mussolini, the new hero, untried and unknown. He himself evidently had a view to the dramatic and was anxious to impress the people at home with his independence among foreign statesmen. Instead of coming straight to Lausanne, he stopped at Territet and made Poincaré and Lord Curzon come to see him there. In the course of the evening he agreed to meet them in Lord Curzon's room at Lausanne the next morning punctually at ten o'clock. At twenty minutes past ten, after Poincaré and Curzon had fumed up and down the room waiting for him, they sent a secretary to see what was the matter. The secretary, who told me the story, said he found Mussolini quietly reading in his room and, when he told him that it was twenty minutes late for his appointment and that the two other statesmen were waiting for him, Mussolini said: "Oh! they're there, are they? Very well, I'll come." On another occasion, he sent a representative to Lord Curzon to announce that he would dine with him that evening. Curzon sent back word that he would be very glad to have Mussolini dine with him at eight-thirty. The messenger remarked that he was sorry that he had instructions to say that Mussolini would dine with Lord Curzon at seven-thirty. Curzon threw up his arms in despair and agreed to split the difference and call it eight o'clock. But quite apart from these little by-plays, I was deeply impressed by Mussolini's quiet, reserved force and the great power of his personality.

A story is told that when Clare Sheridan, the authoress and sculptress, turned up at Lausanne, Mussolini jokingly invited her to come to see him in Rome and that she promptly accepted the suggestion, traveled by the same train and took rooms in the hotel where he was staying. Mussolini still regarded the matter as a joke, until the day after their arrival several men appeared at his room with many pails of plaster, boards, nails, etc., and when he asked what in thunder they were for, he was informed that Mrs. Sheridan was about to make a bust of him. Mussolini forcibly put the men to flight and wrote Mrs. Sheridan a letter in which he refused positively to be sculped adding that busts were only made of dead men and that he himself was still very much alive.

There was the late Mr. Stamboliski, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, hairy, enormous, with fierce upturned moustaches, looking far more like a brigand than a statesman, sitting stolidly at the conference table with his secretary, Mlle. Stancioff, of the Bulgarian diplomatic service, just behind him interpreting his words and, I imagine, also his thoughts, because for a half-dozen words from her chief Miss Stancioff would talk in perfect French or perfect English for ten or fifteen minutes. She was witty and had many passages of arms with the other delegates. One day, when pleading for Bulgaria's outlet to the sea, she said to Venizelos, "How can you, with your hundreds of harbors, object to the legitimate desires of poor little Bulgaria, which has but three miserable ports on the Black Sea?" Venizelos, as quick as a flash, replied, "God put Greece in the middle of the sea; it is not my fault!"

There was Marquis Garroni, the first Italian delegate, aged, genial, soothing as a lullaby at the conference table, but with never a word that was original or constructive. He simply tagged along.

There was Barrère, the old-school French diplomat, who had been Ambassador to Italy for some twenty-five years. It is said that in his youth he was a rabid communist and that when he presented his letters of credence to King Humbert, the latter asked him how it was that such a change had taken place in his political ideals. Barrère replied: "Sire, a man who is not radical in his youth has no heart, but a man who is not conservative in his age has no head."

There was Tchitcherine, the Russian delegate, who talked in a high, squeaky voice which reminded me of nothing so much as a slate pencil. During the conference I was invited by my Norwegian colleague to meet him at dinner, in an entirely unofficial way, as he had particularly asked to meet the American representative. My inclination at first was to refuse, but my colleagues urged me to accept on the ground that something useful might be learned. And so I went. There were five of us at table, the three Scandinavian Ministers, Tchitcherine, and myself. We sat there for four hours and the talk was intensely interesting. We discussed fascism at length and Tchitcherine's summing up of Mussolini was, "He has a passion, not a program." Once, in speaking of the conference, he turned to me and said: "Every rebuke that Lord Curzon addresses to me across the conference table strengthens me just so much with the Soviet government and strengthens the Soviet government proportionately." In reply to my inquiry as to whether developments were taking place in Russia tending towards a more moderate and less radical regime, he said: "Yes, but don't tell the people so. The people must not be allowed to suspect what is going on in this direction. If they were openly aware of it, further developments would become impossible."

But the outstanding personalities of the first phase of the conference were, in my opinion, Lord Curzon, Venizelos, Montagna, the second Italian delegate, and Ismet Pasha. Curzon impressed me greatly. He was said to be pompous, conceited and a martinet to his subordinates, who still refer to the old college legend that "George Nathaniel Curzon is a most important person." But in his personal relations at the conference we saw nothing whatever of this kind. He was always genial, always courteous, always entertaining. Never have I enjoyed anything more than the small dinners of three or four, which he appeared to love, and where he would sit hour after hour telling stories, anecdotes, experiences, in a delightful vein. But at the conference table his attitude and tactics were, in my opinion, ill-judged and productive of little success. He habitually treated Ismet like an office boy, browbeat him, and covered him with ridicule. Ismet bitterly resented this, and it did not make for a spirit of conciliation on the part of the Turks. At the very beginning, Lord Curzon adopted steam-roller methods and refused to allow the Turks to have any say in the organization of the conference. One decision after another was adopted over Ismet's protest and when at the next meeting Ismet was faced with a *fait accompli* and ventured to protest, Lord Curzon simply remarked that objections were now too late and went on to the business of the conference. Whenever Ismet mentioned Turkey's national aspirations or her desire for independence and sovereignty, Curzon always waxed facetious. He once said, "Ismet, you remind me of nothing so much as a music box, for you play the same old tune over and over and over again—sovereignty, sovereignty, sovereignty." On another occasion he said, "Ismet, you have a perfect mania for believing we are depriving you of your independence and you have thought about it so much that you really believe it is true. You remind me of King William, who used to tell his friends that he had led the charge of the guards at Waterloo and he told it so often that he finally came to believe it himself, although, as is well known, he was fully one hundred miles away when the battle took place." Curzon was equally facetious with the Russians, and once, when Tchitcherine suggested that the discussions regarding the Straits were making no progress and that the best thing to do was to get down to work and draft a treaty, Curzon immediately replied, "Monsieur Tchitcherine, that is a most excellent suggestion. If you will shut yourself up in a room all alone and draft us a treaty, I can assure you that we shall give it most careful consideration, and I have no doubt that it will prove to be a document of most unusual interest." But apart from his sarcasm and irony with the Turks and the Russians, Curzon was an admirable chairman. It was a delight to listen to his clear, incisive remarks, his beautifully chosen words and phrases, and his well-rounded sentences. At the conference table he was never for a moment at a loss. Once, when asking that Turkey deed to England the ground where the British dead lay buried in Gallipoli, and Ismet remarked that there was no precedent for such action in history, Curzon immediately replied that the British government had deeded to France in perpetuity the house and ground where the great Napoleon died on the Island of St. Helena and that the French flag perpetually flew from the staff of the building.

As to Venizelos, he was the firebrand throughout and, although often illogical and frequently inaccurate in his arguments and remarks, everyone paid attention when he spoke. He would begin gently and in a soft ingratiating voice, but little by little would work himself into a fury, bellow at the top of his lungs and wildly wave his arms in the air, which, as I was seated next to him, was not always conducive to my personal comfort. On one occasion during one of these transports of fury the chairman said, "I beg of you, Mr. Venizelos, to be tranquil." Whereupon Mr. Venizelos beat the table with his fists in redoubled violence and shouted at the top of his lungs, "I am tranquil, I am tranquil." Riza Nour Bey, the Turk, then turned the solo into a duet and proceeded to shout at Venizelos across the table. Montagna, the chairman, pounded on the table with both fists trying to restore order, but finding it impossible he declared the meeting adjourned. This, however, had no effect on Venizelos who had worked himself into a frenzy. Indeed, his passionate duels across the table with Riza Nour Bey were the delight of the conference.

One day a dramatic incident was provoked when Tchitcherine said he hoped Rumania would be careful and not allow herself to get into the position of Greece which had suffered so severely at the hands of the Turks. Venizelos immediately challenged him saying that it was not customary at such international conferences to make cryptic remarks of this nature and that he demanded an explanation. Tchitcherine shuffled his papers, consulted his experts and made a rather lame reply that he was referring only in general terms to the international situation, at which Venizelos shrugged his shoulders and said he would not press the point as he did not wish to delay the procedure. Whether we sympathized or not, we all listened when Venizelos spoke. He was a man who would command attention in any situation and his free, self-confident, clear delivery was a blessed relief after the halting indistinct speeches of some of the other delegates.

I mentioned Signor Montagna, the second Italian delegate, as one of the outstanding figures of the conference because he understood the mentality of the Turk and the proper method of dealing with him better than any other delegate; and, not only did he bring the work of his subcommittees to a satisfactory conclusion while other committees were still deep in acrid debate, but at the critical moments of the conference it was always he who, in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, managed to smooth matters over by his sensible and conciliatory tactics. At the end of the conference, after Montagna had, in my opinion, contributed more than any other delegate toward reaching a final agreement, old Marquis Garroni insisted on coming up from Rome to sign for Italy, although he was the only one of the original first delegates to do this. And thus Montagna was deprived of the prestige, if it could be regarded as such, which he had earned by indefatigable work. In the darkest hours of the conference Montagna was always optimistic, and I am convinced that on more than one occasion he personally prevented a rupture.

As for Ismet Pasha, my opinion of him underwent several changes during the course of the conference, but my final judgment is that, while lacking any of the adaptability or finesse of his opponents, he played a straight and honest game throughout. He was often accused of giving his word and then withdrawing it, but it must be remembered that he was continually subject to instructions from Angora, which I have every reason to believe were frequently more intransigent than he himself wished to be, and, at least in our own negotiations, when, from time to time, he tentatively accepted a certain formula or provision for our treaty and later withdrew his agreement, he always made it clear in advance that these provisional agreements were subject to instructions from home. In the course of our negotiations, when we were debating some complicated point, he would frequently say to me, "Mr. Grew, you are a diplomat while I am nothing but a soldier and I am not versed in the finesse of diplomacy"; to which I always replied, "Every day of my twenty years' experience in diplomacy has shown me the advantage of expressing one's mind openly, candidly, and honestly, and you will never find any other kind of diplomacy on my part." After all, in Ismet's position, it was the bluff qualities of the soldier and not the subtlety of the old-school diplomat which he needed and which he exercised throughout. He was in a besieged stronghold and all he had to do was to hold out against all assaults and he did it with conspicuous success. In actual debate he was hopelessly outclassed, partly through the handicap of his deafness, which necessitated every word that was said at the conference being written down for him by the secretary at his side, and, also, I believe, because he was neither quick-witted nor keen of comprehension; nor did he appear to have a thorough grasp of the details of the subjects under debate, and many a time at the conference table he missed an admirable opportunity to score off Lord Curzon and others when being attacked and browbeaten. I remember once when Lord Curzon was attacking Ismet's objection to the continuance of the foreign *stationnaire* ships in Constantinople on the ground that they were a relic of the capitulations, Lord Curzon said, "But our only reason for keeping the *stationnaires* is for the purpose of obtaining transportation to and fro like cabs or taxi automobiles." What a hit Ismet would have made if he had replied, "Then, Lord Curzon, I assume that you will have no objection to our maintaining a Turkish *stationnaire* in London, which is also a port and where transportation is equally as necessary as in Constantinople."

The element of intrigue and international rivalry which went on at

Lausanne, of which I had occasion to observe many instances and illustrations, opened my eyes to the sorry state of Old-World diplomacy and caused me to realize that even the plots of E. Phillips Oppenheim are not all of them so far-fetched. During the course of the first phase of the conference a room of one of our secretaries was entered, his locked trunk broken open, and an envelope bearing the title and seals of the Department of State was stolen and never found. Fortunately, it contained nothing more comprehensive than the *laissers-passers* and personal accounts of the secretary in question. But, from that moment, we arranged to have one of our staff in the Chancery day and night, without exception.

But I must not dally with these various sidelights and must tell you something of the working of the conference. On January thirty-first, Lord Curzon decided that drastic measures must be taken to conclude negotiations and he not only presented the Turks with a complete draft treaty based in part on the agreements already reached, but containing many other provisions which had not been fully discussed, and he also drew up a timetable mapping out each day's procedure and ending with his definite determination to leave Lausanne on February second, which was later extended to February fourth. To make a long story short, I can perhaps not do better than read to you the entries in my diary for that last day of the first phase of the conference.

Sunday, February 4 [*1923*].

A fateful day. None of us had any idea what it would bring forth. We simply knew that the Allied draft treaty was to be on the conference table at four o'clock in the afternoon for the Turks to sign or leave, and that Curzon had sworn to depart at nine o'clock whatever the result. Duca [the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs] said to Mrs. Grew just before lunch, in a particularly choice metaphor: "The abscess is going to break today, but we don't know whether the result will be good or bad."

At half-past one while we were all at lunch, the first important development occurred. I saw Arlotta [the Italian secretary] hurry into the dining room and hand a document to Garroni who immediately arose and left the room. It proved to be a draft treaty drawn up by the Turkish delegation and handed to the Allies in reply to their draft, containing only those clauses which had been discussed and agreed to by both sides in committee and omitting all others. Ismet accompanied it by a note in which he said that he felt the clauses already agreed to constituted a sufficient basis for peace, and that other subjects still under controversy could be settled later. It was a clever move.

The delegates of the Inviting Powers immediately went into conference in Lord Curzon's room. At half-past three they summoned Ismet who came down from his hotel with a large group of his experts. At seven Bentinck [the British secretary] called me on the telephone and said that the Turks were probably going to sign in a few moments and suggested that I get our delegates together to be ready to go to Lord Curzon's room to witness the ceremony. I collected Ambassador Child and Admiral Bristol and we went into the hall at the foot of the staircase in the old part of the hotel leading from Curzon's floor. The hall was packed with members of delegations and newspaper correspondents waiting for the final dénouement. The air was full of electricity; hardly anyone talked; we simply listened and waited. The hall upstairs was littered with the packed trunks of the British delegation; in fact when Ismet was calling on Curzon yesterday, the British made a point of bustling about and removing various trunks under Ismet's nose so that he could not fail to be impressed with the definite plans for departure. Thus we waited, expecting any moment to be summoned to watch the signing of the treaty. Suddenly, at eight o'clock, the sound of a door opening above; everyone got up and moved toward the staircase. In a moment Ismet appeared, descending the stairs followed by his delegation; he took off his bowler hat, bowed right and left to the crowd in the hall, smiling broadly, and left the hotel. Certainly I shall never forget that scene. The Conference was broken; there would be no signing. After Bentinck's message an hour before we had hardly doubted that a settlement would be made. Child, Bristol, and I almost immediately went to Lord Curzon's room. Everyone had left. In a moment Curzon appeared; he burst into the room like an angry bull, glared at us and began to pace up and down waving his fist in the air. He was perspiring and looked all in. "That little nincompoop of an idiot has wrecked the peace of the world over a few matters of insignificant detail," he shouted. "We have been sitting here for four mortal hours and he has replied to everything we have said by the same old banalities—independence and sovereignty. We have all done our best. Even Bompard [the French delegate] beat his fist on the table and told Ismet that he was simply stirring up war. Bompard made the strongest speech I ever heard him make." We asked Curzon what Ismet had broken on. Curzon said it was the judicial clauses. (This was only partially correct, as it was the economic clauses, too.) He said that at the last moment Ismet had withdrawn to another room with his experts and that they had fully expected him to come back and sign. Instead he returned, refused to sign, bowed and left the room. It was all over. Curzon was in a fearful state. We asked him if we could do any good by seeing Ismet, for as impartial observers it was within our province while safeguarding American interests to contribute in every proper way to the cause of peace. He said that Bompard and Montagna had gone up to see him but that it could do no good. We said we would try, and again asked him if the judicial clauses were the real stumbling block. He answered in the affirmative.

Child, Bristol, and I then hurried downstairs. I had the Hudson at the door in a minute and we drove quickly to the Palace Hotel. Bompard and Montagna were with Ismet but we were shown into Hussein's room. The concierge told us that Lord Curzon's train, the Orient Express, was an hour late and would not leave before ten o'clock. This proved to be wrong. Curzon himself had had the train held back for half an hour in order to hear the result of Bompard and Montagna's talk with Ismet, but as soon as they reported no results the train was released and actually left at twenty-five minutes past nine, or thereabouts.

A moment after we were seated Ismet came in, Bompard and Montagna having just left. We were with him approximately an hour. We went over much ground with regard to the judicial clauses, but Ismet told us at once that the economic clauses were no less the cause of the break as they would place Turkey in "financial and industrial slavery." We asked him if he would make further concessions on the judicial clauses provided we should obtain concessions from the Allies in other respects. He asked what we suggested. We said that first of all the foreign judicial advisers should be admitted not only to the courts of Constantinople and Smyrna, but to those of Samsun and Adana, as well. The argument continued for about half an hour; Ismet kept rubbing his forehead as if almost dazed. He said in Turkish, "My heart is squeezing me." Finally he got up and went into the adjoining room, stayed there for three minutes, then returned. It was evident that he had gone to consult his experts, but he continued the discussion without a sign that he had seen them. Then quite suddenly he said, "All right, I will concede." We said, "Samsun and Adana?" He replied, "No, only Samsun." We said: "That is not enough to justify our retaining Lord Curzon." Another twenty minutes of discussion. Again Ismet left the room—for we were pushing him hard—returned and seated himself again. He looked awfully tired. Then after a decent interval, so as not to give us the impression that he had talked with his experts, he said: "All right, I will give you both Samsun and Adana, but you must give me your word of honor that you will not reveal these concessions to the Allies before you have secured theirs." We agreed, arose, shook hands, and said we hoped and believed that this would be a fair basis for renewed negotiations and hurried to the station in the car. We were elated for these concessions that we had obtained were by no means unimportant, Ismet having obstinately stood out on them with the Allies. We felt sure at that moment that Curzon would remain.

At the station I saw Bompard getting into his car and wondered why he was leaving just as Curzon was about to start. Other people appeared to be entering their cars also and I saw some of the Italians coming out of the station. I went up to McClure who was near our car as we got out and asked him how soon Lord Curzon's train was starting. "He's just gone," he said. "The train has just pulled out. They've all gone—the whole delegation." And that's that.

It is idle to speculate upon whether the Conference of Lausanne could have been saved by our arriving five minutes earlier at the station. It is not impossible; in fact I hardly see how Curzon would have dared to leave after what we had to tell him, for it showed that the Turks had not got to the end of their rope in the matter of concessions and that with a sufficient amount of patience still other concessions might be gained. Patience was the necessary element which Curzon lacked and now I know that without that quality it is useless to try to deal with the Turk.

The second phase of the conference, which began on April 23 and ended on July 24, was in many respects far more interesting than the first phase, but I do not wish to weary you with too long an account and shall therefore limit myself to speaking of only two or three of the outstanding features. The first difficult problem we had on our hands was, strange as it may seem, the necessity of establishing friendly relations with our British colleagues. Apparently Lord Curzon had gained the impression, during the first phase of the conference, that our delegation had been pro-Turk, and had aided and abetted the Turkish delegation in their Machiavellian manœuvres. It is true that one or two members of our delegation, who had lived long in Constantinople, were somewhat pro-Turkish in their attitude and were perhaps seen too frequently in the company of members of the Turkish delegation, which may have given rise to these unwarranted suspicions. But the charge that our delegation itself was pro-Turk, or took any step, or said any word contrary to the interests of the Western Powers was wholly without foundation. Throughout the entire conference we lived up to the purpose of our mission, which was (1) to safeguard American interests, and (2) to contribute in every proper way towards the conclusion of peace.

Be that as it may, we learned through various channels that the British government was not anxious that we should be present at the second phase of the conference. The French and Italian governments, however, took a different view of the matter and, when the notices for the second meeting were sent out by the Secretariat General, we duly received our notice with the rest, and, to my considerable apprehension, I was appointed to represent the United States alone. At the very beginning I made a point of seeing each of my Allied colleagues and telling them exactly where we stood and what we proposed to do at the conference, and that I should take no step without giving them full information. Thereafter, whenever I saw Ismet, which was, of course, promptly known to all, I took immediate occasion to see my Allied colleagues and tell them exactly what we talked about. To make a long story short, this policy had its desired effect, because, after having strenuously opposed our request to be admitted to the deliberations of the various subcommittees and groups of experts, Sir Horace Rumbold, the British representative, finally withdrew his objection some time after the conference had started. Instead, however, of coming to me and telling me frankly of his change of attitude, as I should certainly have done in a similar case, he had to save his face at all costs and merely sent his legal expert to break the news to me. About the same time he called upon me with great ceremony and, taking a document out of his pocket, he said that he had been instructed by his government to read to me the following message: "His Majesty's Government values the friendship and coöperation of the American Delegation and will be glad to learn its views and to inform it of our views during the course of the Conference." This was the only call that Rumbold made upon me during the entire three months that we were colleagues at Lausanne, although we had been young secretaries together in Cairo some twenty years ago and were again colleagues in Berlin before the war when we together sealed up the archives of the British Embassy. The French and Italian delegates, on the contrary, came to see me as often as I went to see them, and we were in the habit of dropping in on each other at any time of day or night to compare notes and discuss developments. In spite of the message from the British government, Sir Horace Rumbold never once during the conference consulted me or gave me his own opinion or information on his own initiative while we were in Lausanne. As a result he missed much that might have been of value to him, while the information he could have given me I was able to obtain equally well from other sources. These things count in the long run. It makes one inclined to agree with a remark made to me one day by one of my other colleagues at Lausanne that "the French are clever in little things but stupid in great ones, while the British are clever in great ones and immensely stupid in the small things."

The most serious development in the second phase of the Conference of Lausanne was unquestionably the Turco-Greek dispute over reparations. There is no doubt whatever that at one moment the conference hung on the brink of rupture and Europe on the brink of war, for if the Greek army had invaded Eastern Thrace, as it was certainly on the point of doing, there would without question have been a general conflagration in the Balkans, and there is no telling how far that conflagration might have extended. The danger became evident about May 10, on which date I learned that the Greek government was considering an ultimatum to Turkey on the following grounds: (1) maltreatment of Greek prisoners; (2) the opening by the Turks of safe-deposit vaults in the Greek banks in Constantinople; and (3) the alleged expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor. Venizelos, however, considered these points weak and recommended to his government that the ultimatum, if issued, should be based on the Turkish claims for reparations from Greece. Shortly afterwards Venizelos called on

Ismet and talked to him in a most threatening and bellicose manner. Ismet said, "Do you mean you are threatening me with war?" Venizelos calmed down somewhat and offered to agree to the principle of paying reparations, but with the understanding that no cash should be paid, as Greece was incapable of doing it. Ismet proposed either arbitration or the payment of a lump sum, both of which suggestions Venizelos refused. At this stage Ismet was visibly anxious and asked permission of the Allies to send Turkish troops into Eastern Thrace to meet the threat of war, which was, of course, refused. About this time Alexandris, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Lausanne and took an even more bellicose attitude than Venizelos had done. He said that Greece was absolutely determined to go to war rather than pay, and he remarked to Montagna that, as the Allies had supported the Greek offensive before, they could not now desert her. Montagna corrected him by saying "certain Allies," and added "that victory was often more costly than defeat." Alexandris said that the Greek army was the stronghold of the Allied position at the conference and was now at the zenith of its efficiency, but that if time went by without its attacking, this efficiency would decrease. Montagna indignantly refuted the suggestion that the Greek army had anything whatever to do with supporting the Allied position. Alexandris then went so far as to say that the Greek army had been deprived of victory and that its officers now demanded satisfaction by invading Eastern Thrace. There is no doubt that this whole question was one of internal Greek politics. The military party was literally champing at the bit while Venizelos's party also needed some concrete asset to retain power and they were clearly pushing him toward war.

During these days the Allies had continual meetings to determine what should be done, and it is a strange fact that throughout these meetings the British representative remained practically silent. When, finally, it was decided to make an official *démarche* in Athens, the British Chargé d'Affaires made his representations separate from the others. They, however, did tell the Greek government that if it went to war, it would not be permitted to enjoy the fruits of any possible victory. I called on Rumbold at this time to ascertain his opinion, and he said he considered the situation dangerous but not necessarily critical. With the French and Italian delegates I worked in constant cooperation.

Pellé, the French representative, about this time proposed to Ismet that the Turks should accept the town of Karagach from the Greeks in lieu of reparations. Ismet immediately demanded a further strip of territory, including the railway from Demotika, but when he was shown the weakness of this position and the fact that the Greeks could promptly put the railway out of commission with their guns, he withdrew his demand. Montagna appealed to Venizelos on the ground that if war occurred some 400,000 Greeks in Constantinople and Anatolia would probably be killed. Venizelos immediately replied that this would be met by the massacre of the same number of Mussulmans in Macedonia. Montagna asked Venizelos if he could countenance such terrible butchery merely to strengthen a political party now in power in Greece. When the matter was put to him in that light, Venizelos appeared ashamed of his remark. On May 24 we were all seriously disturbed by the situation. It was pointed out to Ismet (1) that the battleship *Iron Duke* and twenty destroyers had entered the Straits; (2) that the British press was threatening war; (3) that the Greek government and army were eager for war; (4) that Rumbold had abstained from seeing Ismet and that the British representative in Athens had made his representations alone and not in unison with the others; (5) that if war were declared, Turkey would at once be thrown out of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace; and (6) that the ability of the Turkish army to fight in Anatolia would in no way help their cause in Thrace. Ismet appeared impressed by these representations and cabled the Karagach proposal to Angora. Meanwhile every effort was made to keep Venizelos calm and to convince him that even if the Greek offensive were justified the greater good of the greater number was at stake and that Europe could not permit war.

On May 25 I called on each of the Allies and said I could not see war intervene without exerting the impartial influence of the United States as a totally disinterested power, and that I proposed on my own initiative to extend my unofficial good offices for mediation. Each of the Allies agreed heartily to this proposal. I was particularly concerned by my talk with the Yugoslav delegate, for, while he said that no declaration on the part of Yugoslavia was possible at the moment, as a declaration of neutrality would encourage the Turks, siding with Greece would tend to precipitate hostilities. My impression from our conversation was distinctly that Serbia would fight. Serbia was opposed to the Karagach proposal, as she did not want to see Turkey on this side of the Mariza. Yovanovitch also told me that Bulgaria would oppose the proposal, as this would mean two countries, instead of one, to block her outlet to the sea. I pointed out the strategic weakness of this new proposed Turkish front, but Yovanovitch said that it was more a question of propaganda in Eastern Thrace than a strategic question. Theodoroff, the Bulgarian delegate, told Ismet that he could not count on Bulgaria's support.

In spite of continual insistence on the part of Venizelos and Alexandris that a final meeting should be held, and, in spite of repeated threats on their part to leave Lausanne and to invade Eastern Thrace unless satisfaction were immediately given, every effort was made to postpone the meeting until Ismet should have had time to receive an answer from Angora regarding Karagach. On May 25 it was evident that the meeting could be no longer postponed. I spent the greater part of the night before the meeting with Venizelos and Ismet separately, using every possible argument to induce a peaceful solution. Venizelos told me that he would accept the Karagach proposal and I so informed Ismet.

The meeting was held at five o'clock on the following day with one delegate from each country present. It took place in a small room at the Chateau and was intensely dramatic. We all sat close together at a small table, Pellé, the President, and Ismet sitting opposite each other. Diamandy placed himself between Ismet and Venizelos with a view to separating the principals in the controversy. The meeting began with the utmost solemnity. Each delegate in turn made a speech emphasizing the seriousness of the situation and calling for conciliation and moderation on both sides. Rumbold used calm logic, Montagna made an impassioned plea; while Pellé summed up the situation in a masterful address followed by the Japanese, the Serbian, the Rumanian, and myself.

Ismet then began to talk and it was evident at once that in his truly Oriental way he was trying to dodge the issue. Diamandy slipped a note across the table to Pellé begging him to pin Ismet down to facts. Pellé then asked Ismet if he had telegraphed the Karagach proposal to Angora. Ismet replied in the affirmative. Pellé said, "Have you received a reply?" Ismet answered, "Yes." "Do you accept?" Ismet again tried to ramble off on tangents, but Pellé persisted and finally, after every effort to avoid the issue, he gave a weary assent.

All this had lasted two hours during which we were all under the greatest possible strain and when it finally appeared that a solution was in sight, the psychology of human nature took its natural course and the air of solemnity changed immediately into one bordering on actual hilarity. Diamandy, the Rumanian, got up and insisted upon Venizelos's moving next to Ismet. The details of the settlement were then discussed in the most amicable way; Venizelos and Ismet, calling each other *mon cher ami*, had their hands on each other's arms, laughed like school boys and appeared to be on the point of actually embracing. The Serbian danced about the room recording his protest against the cession of Karagach, but assuring the meeting that he would not think of letting this stand in the way of peace and that he merely wished to go on record. Rumbold, the Englishman, showed his wild enthusiasm by a contraction of the facial muscles which amounted almost to a smile, and the Jap beamed benevolently through his glasses as though he had just eaten a most excellent dinner and felt at peace with the world. Just before the end of the meeting Venizelos, on behalf of Ismet and himself, thanked all those who had helped in reaching this happy solution, including the American "Observer" and we all got up and shook hands all round. And that's about the whole story.

The Labour Landslide

July 5-19, 1945

STEWART MITCHELL[1]

British politicians use the word "landslide" in a sense directly opposite to ours. One interesting example will suffice. Late in November, 1905, the Conservative Prime Minister, Arthur James Balfour, suddenly resigned the great office to which he had succeeded when his uncle, the Marquess of Salisbury, retired in July, 1902. Acting on Balfour's advice, Edward VII called the leader of the Opposition, the amiable Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had managed to hold the divided Liberals together during the Boer War. Sir Henry formed a government, dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country. At the general election on January, 1906, the Conservatives suffered a stunning defeat, only 150 of them being returned to the House of Commons. Discussing this election in his history of the First World War—*The World Crisis, 1911–1918* (1932) —Winston Spencer Churchill wrote: "The result of the polls in January, 1906, was a Conservative landslide."

NORTH CROYDON (1945)

WILLINK	CONSERVATIVE	23,417
BILLSON	LABOUR	22,810
HOWARD	LIBERAL	10,714

CONSERVATIVE PLURALITY — 607

There is another important difference to be kept in mind. In the United Kingdom, contrary to our American custom, no distinction is made between "majorities" and "pluralities." Look for a moment at the 1945 results in North Croydon, a suburban district in Surrey, south of London. Here, owing to the recent resignation of Mr. Willink, there is going to be a bang-up by-election in a week or so. In 1945, the *Times* of London described Mr. Willink's "plurality" of

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[1] This paper was read at the February, 1948, meeting and revised at a later date.

607 as a "Conservative majority." Attention should be called, by the way, to the surprising survival of the Liberal vote in Great Britain after twenty-seven years of almost unmitigated disaster. Here in this constituency, out of a total of 57,000 in 1945, almost 11,000 voters insisted, and this in the face of repeated defeats in seven general elections, on voting for the Liberal candidate!

Now for a word about elections in constituencies where more than two candidates competed for the votes of the electors. An examination of the returns of the 640 seats of the present House of Commons in 1945 will show that 178 members of the House won their seats by what we should call "pluralities"; in other words, they did not poll the larger part of the vote, but only the largest. The breakdown is interesting. The most amusing item is a trifle: both Communist members of the present House of Commons won their seats by pluralities, not majorities. The Conservatives picked up 90 seats this way, and the Labour Party won 76. We shall not trouble ourselves with figures for the nuisance or splinter parties. The electoral law of the United Kingdom provides that every candidate must post a deposit of £180, which he forfeits if he fails to poll one eighth of the total vote cast at the election. This deposit, it has been suggested, should be raised to £1,000, to be forfeited in the event that a defeated candidate does not poll one quarter of the vote—a reform that would remove much of the confusion from British elections. This proposal is of first importance, in view of the sinister decline of responsible government all over the voting world.

Most Americans are as vague in their notions of British politics and parties as Britishers of our own. It will be remembered that the Labour Party first elected two members to the House of Commons at the "khaki" election of 1900. It has grown almost steadily since the "Hang the Kaiser" election of 1918, gaining recruits chiefly from the once-dominant Liberal Party. This Labour Party is not one and indivisible; it is, in fact, "divided into three parts." First there are the members of the trade unions, which called the General Strike of 1926; second, there are the white-collar members from the middle class; and last, and least, there are the intellectuals. Some of these are rare, if not beautiful, birds: *les Philippe-Egalité de nos jours.*

Five names will suggest the mental composition of these converts. Hugh Dalton, only recently Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office which he had to resign because he talked about his budget to a reporter in the lobby of the House a few moments before he came in to report it to the Commons, is the son of a canon of the Church of England. He went to Eton and was graduated from King's College, Cambridge. No bobbiner or miner he. The Labour member from Grimsby, Major Kenneth Younger, is just forty years old. Back in the 1920's, one George Younger was the chairman of the Conservative Party who won elections for Bonar Law and Baldwin very much as William Dundas won them, long ago, for Pitt the Younger. As a reward for managing the overthrow of the Lloyd George Coalition in October, 1922, George Younger was made a viscount in 1923. His son, James Younger, succeeded him in the House of Lords in 1929, and in 1946 his grandson, Edward George Younger, became third viscount. Major Kenneth Younger is the younger brother of this third viscount, and

GROWTH
OF THE
LABOUR PARTY
(1900–1945)

GENERAL ELECTIONS
IN
ENGLAND

1900	2
1906	29
1910 (JANUARY)	40
1910 (DECEMBER)	42
1918	57
1922	142
1923	191
1924 (ZINOVIEV LETTER)	151*
1929	287
1931 (MACDONALD'S BETRAYAL)	52*
1935	154
1945	393

* LOSS

thus the grandson of the once powerful pilot of the Tory Party.

Major Oliver Baldwin will be forty-nine this year. Until a few days ago Baldwin sat as the Labour member for Paisley, a suburb of Glasgow, the constituency which sent Asquith back to the House in 1920, two years after he had lost East Fife, faithful to him for thirty-two years, in the disgraceful "Hang the Kaiser" election of 1918. Then Asquith accepted an earldom. Oliver Baldwin was the eldest son and heir of Stanley Baldwin. He joined the Labour Party while his father was Conservative Prime Minister. But the father got even with the son, at long last. He entered the House of Lords as Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, and fastened on the shoulders of Major Oliver the courtesy title of Viscount Corvedale. About two months ago, December 14, 1947, Stanley, first Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, curled up and died, and Oliver, Labour M.P. for Paisley, had to give up his seat in the Commons and join the obscure chatter of the House of Lords. Only a few days ago he accepted the perilous post of Governor-General of the Leeward Islands! The political future of Oliver, second Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, is behind him.

Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee, who has sat for Limehouse, that little slum constituency of East London, since November, 1922,—Attlee, who was sixty-five on January 3, is a graduate of University College, Oxford, where he took second class Honours in Modern History. Son of a solicitor, he was called to the bar in 1906 and practised until 1909. In 1910 he became secretary of Toynbee Hall, and in 1911 lecturer at Ruskin College. From 1913 to 1923 he was tutor and lecturer in Social Science at the London School of Economics. After serving in the First World War he became the first Labour Mayor of Stepney in 1919. From 1922 to 1924 he was parliamentary private secretary to that "boneless wonder," J. Ramsay MacDonald. He became leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons in 1935, when George Lansbury, the pacifist, had to resign because of his opposition to sanctions against Italy in regard to Ethiopia. Attlee is "the professor in politics."

Sir Richard Stafford Cripps, youngest son of Charles Alfred Cripps, first Baron Parmoor, belongs in a bin all by himself. Cripps first entered the House of Commons as a member for the Labour Party at a by-election in East Bristol in January, 1931, when he was not yet forty-two. He had been educated at University College, London, and had become one of the most eminent barristers in Britain, earning money, which he envied other men for having inherited. Although Labour had won East Bristol by over eleven thousand votes at the general election of 1929, Sir Stafford pulled through at the savage general election of October, 1931, by 435 votes: 19,435 to 19,000. As time went by the great barrister became embittered: the world was not worthy of him. He sneered in public at what he called "Buckingham Palace ballyhoo," and declared that when Labour next won an election it would suspend Parliament and make laws by decree. So reckless became his admiration for the methods of Hitler that he was expelled from the Labour Party. Thereafter Sir Oswald Mosley and he reviled each other as competitors for the predicted post of dictator, "rivals who claimed to be opposites but [who] illustrated the theory that extremes meet." Sir Stafford is said to live on cabbage leaves and water, and is commonly accused of desiring to make the British like his diet. The story goes that by 1939 Hitler planned to make Cripps the British *Gauleiter* when once he had conquered the United Kingdom, but to believe this fable would be to ascribe something more than cunning to a ranting maniac. The unions are the backbone of the Labour Party, even though the intellectuals act the tongue and do the talking. Last year Winston Churchill quipped: "Democracy is the worst possible form of government—except all the others that have ever been tried."

Modern historians like to reproach the Greeks and the Romans for having failed to invent the political mechanism of what we call "representative government." Michael Rostovtzeff, however, denies this. Popular government by town meeting in the slave state of Athens lasted just one lifetime: Sophocles was born before it began, and Socrates survived it by five years—and these two men knew each other. Aristophanes despised the system and ridiculed it brazenly; of all the great men of Athens, only Pericles stooped to managing it, and successfully, until his tragic death in the plague twenty-five years before liberal Athens caved in. The Roman rabble swung elections for about two centuries until Julius Caesar took over, and Caesar's successors ruled the Mediterranean World for fifteen hundred years. Even by the most generous calculation, it will be 1969 before the system of popular government by universal adult suffrage will have equaled in length of time the eighty-four years of the Antonines: wise, benevolent despotism continued by adoptive succession.

The Commons were first called into Parliament in 1295, but the beginnings of what we call democracy first appeared in the United Kingdom with the "rotten borough" Reform Act of 1832. After 1885 one in seven of the population in the United Kingdom had the right to vote. In 1918, chiefly by the grant of the franchise to women above the age of thirty, 13,000,000 new voters were added to the lists, making a total register of 21,000,000, or nearly one in two of the population of Great Britain. Then, in 1928, five million new voters were added to the electorate by the extension of the franchise to women between twenty-one and thirty years of age, on equal terms with men, the so-called "flapper vote." Today, out of a total population of something over 47,000,000, approximately 33,000,000 people have the right to vote in Great Britain.

Between July 5 and 19, 1945, just about 25,000,000 exercised this right, approximately seventy-five per cent. As a rule eighty per cent of the voters go to the polls in the United Kingdom. The difference is accounted for by the fact that the general election of July 5, 1945, was what we in the United States would call a "snap" election; in other words, about a million and a half people who probably desired to vote did not have the chance to do so, yet the point is this: there are men and women alive today who can remember the introduction of "popular government" in the United Kingdom with the Third Reform Act of 1885.[2]

Suppose it be granted, merely for the sake of argument, that we have done better than the Greeks and the Romans—that we have invented representative government by universal adult suffrage. There are, nevertheless, two catches in this system. The first is the way votes are distributed; the second is the way the votes are divided. For what is meant by the "distribution" of votes, take an ideal situation: 100,000 voters divided into five utterly equal districts. The day of election comes, and every living adult goes to the polls. Yet it is completely possible for forty per cent of the electorate to win three out of five seats—40,000 voters can defeat 60,000. Let them who object that the example is absurd go study the elections for the House of Commons since 1918, or take a brief glance at the workings of the Electoral College of the United States. Suppose that our Electoral College were of any lasting importance through four years. Suppose it were a legislative body, and then reflect what would have happened to the votes of the supporters of Landon in 1936, or those who plumped for Dewey in 1944. Luckily, the Electoral College is usually a superfluous appendix; yet, in 1888, it decided the presidential election against the will of the voters.

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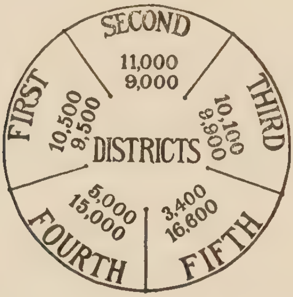
[2] People who affect to be surprised at the low percentage of voters who go to the polls in the United States overlook two facts. In the first place, many Americans are constantly moving about the country and thus losing their right to vote. In the second place, in ten states of the Union, the question of who shall hold office is settled at the primaries and not at the national elections. In South Carolina, a study of the figures will show that a very small percentage of the qualified voters turns out on election day. The elections of 1928 and 1952 are merely the exceptions which test the rule.

100,000 VOTERS IN 5 DISTRICTS OF 20,000 EACH

GOVERNMENT—3—SEATS—40,000
OPPOSITION—2—SEATS—60,000



DISPARITY IN DISTRICTS (1944)
Romford (Essex) 167, 939 — Limehouse (Attlee) 37,020

1936	Electoral Vote		1944
Roosevelt	27,476,673–523	Roosevelt	25,602,505–432
Landon	16,679,583– 8	Dewey	22,006,278– 99

The five districts of the circle are utterly equal—20,000 voters in every one. Anyone who takes the time and trouble, however, will discover amazing disparities among the present-day constituencies of the United Kingdom. Take two instances. In 1944, Romford, in Essex, contained 168,000 electors, and Limehouse, for which Mr. Attlee sits, 37,000 electors—a difference of voting value of over four and one-half to one. These amazing injustices raised such an uproar that in 1944 the House of Commons, then consisting of 615 members, added twenty-five seats, to be allotted to twenty huge constituencies, with the promise that further adjustments would be made later on. Mr. Churchill's constituency of Epping Forest was divided; whereupon he chose to stand for the new division of Woodford. Reducing the size of a legislative body is far more difficult than adding to it, for no representative likes to vote himself out of office. The Act of 1944 was put through as a temporary remedy; now four commissions are at work equalizing the number of electors in the constituencies of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.[3]

The second significant catch in the working of representative government is the "division" of votes. To work well, and surely, this scheme of governing by counting heads cannot survive with more than two parties. In the notorious "Hang the Kaiser" election of 1918 over 400,000 more people voted against the candidates of Lloyd George and his coalition than voted for them. Allowance must be made, of course, for the unusual number of 107 uncontested returns, the "coupon candidates" of the Conservative-Liberal coalition. Yet the sinister coalition swept the House of Commons and governed the United Kingdom for four years.

In the general election of June, 1929, the Conservative Government

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[3] The commissions surveyed separately England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Their provisional recommendations, published in 1946, produced many objections, and in consequence they were given amended rules permitting a greater degree of flexibility in regard to both the electoral quota—the number of electors to be aimed at in each division—and the preservation of local government areas. Revised recommendations were presented in 1947. When the Bill giving effect to them was before Parliament, the Government introduced changes creating 17 additional seats, mainly in some of the large towns.

The principal changes brought about by the Representation of the People Act of 1948 are:

(a) The number of members in the House of Commons is reduced from 640 (after the interim revision in 1944) to 625. From 1922 to 1935 the number of members had been 615. The new figure consists of—England, 506; Wales, 36; Scotland, 71; Northern Ireland, 12.

(b) The basic number of electors in each constituency ("electoral quota") is about 60,000, with an increase or decrease where desirable to maintain local government boundaries.

(c) The 12 university seats are abolished.

(d) The business vote is abolished.

(e) Double-member constituencies (of which there were 12) are abolished, and the areas concerned divided, where necessary, into separate constituencies.

(f) The Cities of London and Westminster, previously having 2 seats each, are merged into one constituency.

The boundary commissions are permanent bodies, and are authorized to keep electoral constituencies under review and to recommend further changes which appear desirable owing to movements of population or other causes.

YEAR	TOTAL ELECTORATE	UNOPPOSED RETURNS	CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL	LABOUR	OTHERS
1918	21,392,322	107	5,180,227		5,608,430	
1922	21,127,663	57	5,500,382	4,189,527	4,241,383	462,340
1923	21,281,232	50	5,538,824	4,311,147	4,438,508	260,042
1924	21,731,320	32	8,039,598	2,928,747	5,489,077	182,857
1929	28,850,870	7	8,656,473	5,308,510	8,389,512	293,880
1931	29,487,711	67	11,926,537	2,320,310	6,648,023	764,534
			GOVERNMENT	OPPOSITION		
1935	29,400,476	37[1]	11,733,662	9,977,999		

[1] GOVERNMENT 23—1,000,000 VOTES
OPPOSITION 14— 500,000 VOTES

fell after five years of power, with Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister, and Winston Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer. During those five years two facts were of importance: the General Strike of 1926 (and the restrictive laws against unions which followed it) and in 1928 the grant of the vote to "the flappers"—women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. The electorate broke up into three parts, but the second largest, Labour, won the greatest number of seats in the House of Commons. A glance at the "quota" and the "average" vote will show what happened to the ballots of the British people in that year.

Labour profited by the triangular vote of 1929, getting one member of the House of Commons for every 29,000 votes. Then came the world-wide crash of credit in October, 1929, and two years later the "gold-standard" election of 1931. Now the boot was on the other foot. In 1931, Labour cast 130,000 votes for every seat it got in the House of Commons. Four years later, this quota had dropped to 54,000, which was still exactly twice the Conservative average. The ebb and flow of the average for the Liberal Party is instructive and amusing: one seat for 87,000 votes in 1929, one seat for 30,000 votes in 1931, and one seat for 82,000 votes in 1935. But is this "representative government"?

Americans dare not throw stones at the British. Equal representation within most of our states is a legal farce, for most of the legislatures are riddled with representatives from "rotten boroughs." Conditions in Rhode Island and Connecticut are scandalous. The late Alfred Emanuel Smith liked to say that it was "unconstitutional" for the Democrats to carry the legislature of New York! In the Middle West, Ohio and Illinois are notorious offenders, for towns have grown up into great cities during the years, but reapportionment is banned by the prevailing power of the over-represented rural counties. In almost no part of the Union does the majority rule.

Discontent with the accepted system has provoked a desire for reform. Most proposals take the shape of some kind of proportional representation, a subject on which the pros and cons are far from clear. In a general way, proportional representation seems to work reasonably well in limited areas. Over large areas the benefits are worse than doubtful. Some of our smaller great cities, like Cincinnati, seem to find the system tolerably satisfactory, even though the council of Cambridge, in control of the reformers by five votes to four, has been un-

GENERAL ELECTION: 1929

80% OF THE VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS

ELECTORATE	CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL	LABOUR	OTHERS	TOTAL VOTE
28,502,265	8,664,243	5,300,947	8,362,594	311,333	22,639,117

	OLD COMMONS 1924	NEW COMMONS 1929
CONSERVATIVE	400	260
LABOUR	162	288
LIBERAL	46	59
INDEPENDENT	7	8

QUOTA VOTE	
AVERAGE VOTE ⟶	36,000
LABOUR	29,000
LIBERAL	87,000
CONSERVATIVE	34,000

GENERAL ELECTIONS: 1931 and 1935

	ELECTORATE	CONSERVATIVE	LIBERAL	LABOUR	OTHERS	TOTAL VOTE
1931	29,952,361	11,926,537	2,320,310	6,648,023	764,534	21,659,404
1935	29,534,630	11,791,461	1,377,962	8,326,131	506,283	22,001,837

COMMONS	1929	1931	1935
CONSERVATIVE	260	513	431
LABOUR	288	62	158
LIBERAL	59	34	21
INDEPENDENT	8	6	4
COMMUNIST			1

AVERAGE VOTE	1931—36,000	1935—35,000
CONSERVATIVE	25,000	27,000
LABOUR	130,000	54,000
LIBERAL	30,000	82,000

able to elect a mayor after weeks of spectacular wrangling. In Europe this system has kept the governments of the Continent in a continual state of flux; the revolving premiers of France, for instance, are political figures of fun. Certain it is that proportional representation was a contributing cause to the paralysis of the Weimar Republic, and that weakness made way for Hitler, and Hitler made war. New York, one of the greatest cities of the world, tried proportional representation for eleven years, after which the voters heaved it overboard in November, 1947, by a popular majority of 350,000—every one of the five boroughs going against it. Henceforth the council of New York City will consist of twenty-five persons elected from the twenty-five state senatorial districts within the five boroughs of Greater New York, by direct vote.

On February 4, 1948, the voters of the Irish Republic chose their Dail by means of proportional representation. A few days after the election Mr. de Valera's newspaper, *The Press*, printed the following:

> An outstanding fact in the election is that the Fianna Fail, although by far the largest party, having captured more than twice as many seats as its nearest rival, has not obtained an over-all majority.
>
> The difficulties and dangers inherent in the system of proportional representation are thus made manifest. Under it, to achieve an all over position—save in the face of a great national crisis or a wave of national emotion—is almost impossible. With the straight voting system that obtains in Britain or the United States Fianna Fail would have obtained a secure working majority. So much is proved by the first preference figures.[4]

The Irishman has learned from bitter experience what President Lowell of Harvard taught by intuition—that the remedy is worse than the disease. The great drawback to proportional representation without districts is this: the voters of any given area have no person whom they can call to account: they cannot fix responsibility on anyone.

Now to the general election of July 5-19, 1945. The Thirty-Seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the fourth longest in English history, was dissolved on June 15, 1945, after a life of nine years, six months, and twenty days.[5] It had lasted longer than any other Parliament since the so-called Cavalier Parliament of the Restoration, which sat from 1661 to 1679. In 1944 the life of Parliament had once more been continued for one year, but the complete collapse of Germany in the first week of May, 1945, altered circumstances decisively. At first, the only issue was thought to be whether it was better to end the coalition government quickly and have an election in the summer, or continue the coalition for a few months longer and postpone the general election till the autumn. The Conservative ministers urged a summer election; the Labour and Liberal ministers preferred a postponement till the autumn, when the new electoral register of voters, due in October, would be ready. Labourites and Liberals accused the Conservatives of trying to force a "rushed election." The war against Japan was still raging, and those specialists and experts who always pretend to know everything, and usually know rather less, predicted that it would last for at least two years. This counsel of timidity cast a cloud over the political life of Great Britain in the summer of 1945.

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[4] *New York Times*, February 7, 1948.

[5] The four Long Parliaments are as follows:
Charles II: 1661–1679
Elizabeth I: 1572–1586
Charles I: 1640–1653
George V: 1935–1945

Eventually, Churchill offered the Labour and Liberal Parties the choice not between a summer and an autumn election, but between a summer election and the continuation of the coalition government and Parliament until Japan had surrendered. Churchill made this proposal on May 18, in a letter written to all the leaders of the parties supporting the government. Some of the Labour ministers, although the opinion of their party was against it, let it be known that they favored a continuation of the coalition until autumn. Then Mr. Churchill made the first of a series of incredible tactical errors. He replied, in effect, that after careful thought he did not regard this suggestion as being "in the public interest." After a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party on May 20, Mr. Attlee wrote to Mr. Churchill, declining the proposal to continue the coalition until the end of the Japanese war: "To give a guarantee of agreement to carry on for an indefinite period is not in my power, nor, I suggest, in yours." Although Mr. Churchill's proposal was unacceptable, the Labour Party would give its fullest support to the war, whether in or out of government, until Japan was defeated. This certainly seemed fair enough, but Mr. Churchill had become hubristic. Sir Archibald Sinclair, in his reply to Churchill in behalf of the Liberals, said that they were prepared to continue the coalition until autumn, but that they would prefer that the election should be held soon after the October electoral register came into force.

Mr. Attlee's rejection of Mr. Churchill's proposal was decisive, receiving enthusiastic support, in a secret session, from the delegates to the Labour Party's conference at Blackpool. So Mr. Churchill tendered his resignation on May 23, after five years and thirteen days of proud power; the coalition was dissolved; a Conservative Government was formed, and Mr. Churchill asked George VI for a dissolution of Parliament, which was granted, taking place on June 15. This fixed polling day for July 5, which clashed with local mass holidays in twenty-three constituencies; in twenty-two of these, polling was put off for a week, and in one case for a fortnight. The results of the general election, it was agreed, were not to be made known until July 26.

The three-power conference at Potsdam was to open on July 17; so Mr. Churchill asked Mr. Attlee, now leader of the Opposition, to accompany him as a member of the British delegation. At this point, Professor Harold Laski, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, stumbled out on to the political stage. The chairmanship of the Labour Party rotates annually; it is held, at the present moment, by a lady. Mr. Laski, be it observed, has never stood, let alone sat, for any constituency in the United Kingdom. When he heard that Mr. Attlee was going to Potsdam, Mr. Laski announced that, since the three-power conference would be discussing matters which had not been debated by the Labour Party Executive Committee or the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Labour Party itself could not be committed to decisions arrived at in Potsdam. It was essential, he said, that, if Mr. Attlee attended this gathering, he should do so only as an observer for the Labour Party, for Mr. Attlee could hardly accept responsibility for agreements which, from the British aspect, would have been arrived at by Mr. Churchill. In his formal invitation to Mr. Attlee on June 15, Mr. Churchill commented on Mr. Laski's extraordinary statement. This was Mr. Churchill's second great mistake; he would have done better to ignore it. Mr. Attlee, in reply, confirmed his acceptance of the invitation, writing that he did so in agreement with his principal colleagues in the House of Commons. He made no reference whatever to Professor Laski, but added this significant sentence: "There was never any suggestion that I should go [to Potsdam] as a mere observer."

Then followed the notorious controversy as to whether ministers in a Labour Government would be fully responsible to Parliament, or whether they would be required to take orders from the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. This controversy caused great bitterness in the election, and Mr. Churchill rang the changes on it. The House of Commons, it will be remembered, had been raised to 640 members, and there were contests for 637 of these seats in 617 constituencies. The Labour and Liberal Parties decided not to oppose Churchill in the new division of Woodford, but an upstart Independent, A. Hancock, took the field at the last moment, and Mr. Churchill had to fight for his seat, saving it by a vote of 27,688 to 10,488. Even the Speaker, Colonel Douglas Clifton Brown, sitting for Hexham, was opposed by a Labourite, to the righteous indignation of Mr. Churchill, who wrote Colonel Brown that the procedure of opposing the Speaker "was not consonant either with British Parliamentary custom or ordinary fair play," because, as Speaker, it was impossible for Colonel Brown to fight the election from the political platform of any party. Colonel Brown polled 16,431 votes to 11,786 for his Labour opponent, a railway clerk named Kavanagh, a member of the city council of Leeds!

The general election was enlivened on June 20 by an official statement issued from the headquarters of the Labour Party to the effect that Professor Laski was issuing writs for libel against the writer of a letter, and certain newspapers which had published it, alleging that Laski had said in a speech that the Labour Party would "use violence," if necessary, to obtain its political aims. The statement from Labour headquarters went on as follows:

> There was nothing in any declaration made by the party since its origin which excused any assertion from any quarter that the Labour Party believed in the use of violence. On the contrary, it was a social democratic party, seeking to achieve its aims by democratic means. The Labour Party had always accepted and advocated a free Parliamentary institution as the instrument for the achievement of its aims by consent and its record as a democratic party was beyond question.

About a year ago, Mr. Laski took his libel suits into court, lost his case, and was subjected to very heavy charges for legal costs. "Fullness," as the Greeks liked to say, "fullness, arrogance, and ruin."

The result of the general election as announced on July 26, 1945, was a colossal defeat—on the face of the returns to the House of Commons—for the supporters of Winston Churchill: 189 as against 393 for Labour. This overturn seems to have taken the world, and even Mr. Churchill, by surprise. Yet it is very difficult to see how the British could have voted back into office scores of men who had connived in the support of the feeble ministries of MacDonald, Baldwin, and Chamberlain, between 1931 and 1939. Moreover, Churchill was stubbornly and stupidly loyal to certain political cronies of his, men who were never any better than they should have been. He was unwise in forcing an election in the summer of 1945, when he might much better have waited until the completion of the electoral registers the following October—by which time Japan would have surrendered to the Allies. Nor was the turnout satisfactory. As a rule, eighty per cent of the British voters go to the polls, but in 1945 only seventy-five per cent voted: 25,000,000 out of 33,000,000. Yet possibly the people who could not vote in July, 1945, would have divided in October in just about the same proportion as those who could.

ATTLEE 1945 CHURCHILL

Labour	393	Conservative	189
Liberal	12	Liberal National	13
Independent Labour	3	Ulster	9
Communist	2	National	2
Common Wealth	1		213
Irish National	2		
	413	Independents	14

Total House 640

Worst of all, the British voters seem to have come to believe that Mr. Churchill, in belaboring Professor Laski, was avoiding real issues and beating a man of straw. Mr. Herbert Morrison, in the last broadcast of the Labour Party, on June 29, concluded that "the old lying stunts" were being employed against the party, and declared that the nation was being invited to vote not for the Labour Party on its declared policy but against "a ridiculous Aunt Sally with a wild irresponsible programme." Yet Mr. Churchill returned to the subject of

Professor Laski on June 30, in the very last of his election broadcasts, observing that the Chairman of the Labour Party had not withdrawn his impudent warning to Mr. Attlee as to the approaching conference at Potsdam on July 17. The professor had shown himself "the leader of forces too strong for Mr. Attlee to challenge by any effective counter-action." Churchill affected to believe that the Executive Committee of the Labour Party had far-reaching powers over the men who might one day be the leaders of the House of Commons—that the Committee could require the submission of Cabinet ministers to its will. Mr. Attlee retorted that this was a base insinuation. If not "base," the charge was baseless; the members of the National Executive Committee always ride behind the elected Labour members of the House of Commons. Churchill would have been wise to speak of Mr. Laski as the magnificent Marquess Curzon of Kedleston once referred to Mr. Baldwin—"a person of the utmost insignificance."

But the sinister aspect of this election of 1945 seems to have been blithely overlooked in the simple-minded West. Soon after Stalin returned to Potsdam, he knew beyond peradventure that, of the great triumvirate which had beaten down Germany and Italy and was conquering Japan, Roosevelt, the greatest, was dead and buried, and Churchill had been repudiated by his own people. Now Stalin sat with Attlee and dazed Truman, but whatever seat he took was always the head of the table! If Churchill had only kept his temper in the summer of 1945, biding his time until October, the future might seem brighter for us now. Russia's ignorance of the world outside her borders would be laughable, if it were not desperately dangerous.

Churchill has confessed his astonishment and his bitterness at the outcome. Yet before long he was back in his old form, pouring contempt and ridicule on those leaders of the Labour Party who had been his faithful colleagues in the National Government during five terrifying years. He seems never to have realized that in 1945 the British people were voting against the men of Munich, and all their words and all their works. It was he who had to make atonement for the stupidity which baffles even the gods.

While he is toiling at his great history of the Second World War Mr. Churchill might well take time out to look a little further back into history than his humiliating defeat in 1945—to Athens of 406 B.C. —and gather comfort from the fact that he lives in times less perilous,

1945

75% OF THE VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS

CONSTITUENCIES	ELECTORATE	CONSERVATIVES & ALLIES		LABOUR	LIBERAL	OTHERS
LONDON BOROUGHS	2,004,874	473,075	23,393	770,122	51,919	49,878
ENGLISH BOROUGHS	10,986,579	2,957,840	398,383	4,595,426	757,347	132,698
ENGLISH COUNTIES	13,978,158	4,135,666	276,744	4,606,904	1,099,000	204,472
WELSH BOROUGHS	451,707	56,142	30,497	197,999	26,102	25,137
WELSH COUNTIES	1,305,178	164,638	65,452	581,185	172,451	11,068
SCOTTISH BURGHS	1,536,217	392,110	36,342	562,735	59,299	80,101
SCOTTISH COUNTIES	1,796,525	486,095	71,978	581,675	73,550	46,106
NORTHERN IRELAND	777,181		392,454	96,246		231,069
TOTALS ⟶	32,836,419	8,665,566	1,295,243	11,992,292	2,239,668	780,529

TOTAL GOVERNMENT VOTE
9,960,809

TOTAL OPPOSITION VOTE
15,012,489

in some ways, than did certain brave leaders of the ancient world. Take the naval battle of Arginusae.

> The Peloponnesians during the following winter organised a fleet of greater strength than they had had for many years—140 ships; but Lysander had to make place for a new admiral, Callicratidas. The Peloponnesians at first carried all before them. . . . The situation was critical, and Athens did not underrate the danger. The gold and silver dedications in the temples of the Acropolis were melted to defray the costs of a new armament; freedom was promised to slaves, citizenship to resident aliens, for their services in the emergency; and at the end of a month Athens and her allies sent a fleet of 150 triremes to relieve Mytilene. Callicratidas, who had now 170 ships, left 50 to maintain the blockade and sailed with the rest to meet the foe. A great battle was fought near the islets of the Arginusae, south of Lesbos, and the Athenians were victorious. Seventy Spartan ships were sunk or taken, and Callicratidas was slain. An untimely north wind hindered the victors from rescuing the crews of their wrecked ships, as well as from sailing to Mytilene to destroy the rest of the hostile fleet.
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> The success had not been won without a certain sacrifice; twenty-five ships had been lost with their crews. It was believed that many of the men, floating about on the wreckage, might have been saved if the officers had taken proper measures. The commanders were blamed; the matter was taken up by politicians at Athens; the generals were suspended from their office and summoned to render an account of their conduct. They shifted the blame on the trierarchs; and the trierarchs, one of whom was Theramenes, in order to shield themselves, accused the generals of not having issued the orders for rescue until the high wind made the execution impossible. We are not in a position to judge the question; for the decision must entirely depend on the details of the situation, and as to the details we have no certainty. It is not clear, for instance, whether the storm was sufficiently violent to prevent any attempt at a rescue. The presumption is, however, that the Athenian people were right in the conviction that there had been criminal negligence somewhere, and the natural emotion of indignation which they felt betrayed them into committing a crime themselves. The question was judged by the Assembly, and not by the ordinary courts. Two sittings were held, and the eight generals who had been present at Arginusae were condemned to death and confiscation of property. Six, including Thrasyllus and Pericles, son of the great statesman, were executed; the other two had prudently kept out of the way. Whatever were the rights of the case, the penalty was unduly severe; but the worst feature of the proceedings was that the Assembly violated a recognised usage of the city by pronouncing sentence on all the accused together, instead of judging the case of each separately. . . . Protests had no effect on the excited multitude, thirsty for vengeance. It was an interesting incident that the philosopher Socrates, who happened on the fatal day to be one of the prytaneis [members of that division of the Council of Five Hundred which was presiding at the time], objected to putting the motion. All constitutions, democracy like oligarchy and monarchy, have their own dangers and injustices;

this episode illustrates the gravest kind of injustice which a primary Assembly, swayed by a sudden current of violent feeling and unchecked by any responsibility, sometimes commits,—and repents.[6]

Since Labour captured the House of Commons in July, 1945, thirty-six by-elections have been held in the United Kingdom. Until a few days ago, Labour had not lost a seat, retaining, in all, twenty-two constituencies—a record which surpasses even that of Disraeli's ministry between 1874 and 1876. Now, two years and six months later, January 29, 1948, has come the first change—the by-election at Camlachie, a slum division at the east of Glasgow. In 1945, Campbell Stephen, a clergyman and a barrister also, as well as a teacher of science and mathematics, carried the division for the Independent Labour Party. Only a few months ago, the Reverend Mr. Stephen left the I. L. P. and joined the Labour Party. Soon afterward, he "joined the great majority." For the by-election of two weeks ago the Conservatives put up their candidate of 1945 again—C. S. McFarlane, the director of a firm of hardware manufacturers in Glasgow. The Labour Party nominated John M. Inglis, but a Miss Annie Maxton insisted on standing as the candidate of the Independent Labour Party, which Stephen had left at the last minute. Annie is the sister of James Maxton, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, who sat for the division of Bridgeton, in Glasgow, until his death early in 1946. Although only fifty-nine per cent of the electorate went to the polls, the result is worth examining. The Conservatives won the seat, falling off by only 314 from their vote of 1945, but between three and four thou-

CAMLACHIE (GLASGOW)

1945		*1948*	
Stephen, I.L.P.	15,558	McFarlane, Cons.	11,085
McFarlane, Cons.	11,399	Inglis, Labour	10,690
I.L.P. Majority	4,159	Maxton, I.L.P.	1,622
		Liberal Candidate	312
		Cons. Plurality	395

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[6] J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, Third Edition, revised by Russell Meiggs (London, 1951), 500-502.

sand Labour voters seem to have stayed at home. The result for the Liberals was pitiable.

The by-elections at Paisley, the seat which the second Earl Baldwin of Bewdley had to vacate to go up to the House of Lords, and North Croydon, a suburb south of London, are in the offing. Labour ought to hold the seat at Paisley easily, in view of its plurality of 10,000 votes over the Conservatives in 1945—and an actual majority of 5,000 over all three opponents: Conservative, Liberal, and Independent. At North Croydon, however, the result is far from certain. If the Liberals stubbornly continue to vote Liberal, the outcome is a toss-up. If only two candidates stand, the winner will be he who captures the greater part of the Liberal vote. Anyone who desires to set himself up as a prophet as to the political future of Great Britain should watch the approaching by-election in this division closely. If Labour gains that seat, Labour will certainly stay in power for several years to come. If the Conservatives save that seat, and by a noticeable margin, that straw will show that the tide of opinion has begun to turn in their favor.[7]

Historians are given to taking refuge in the fact that they do not pose as prophets. Their study is to try to discover and state the truth about the past, and the past is finished business. Yet if this world "belongs to the living, and not to the dead," surely it belongs to the people of the future, as well. Such a division into thirds—past, present, and future—is artificial and false, for the present is always slipping away into the past as well as begetting the future. Democracy seems to be fastened on us as the inevitable form of political management, for the moment, but democracy has come and gone time and again, and our shape of it is very young, indeed: 1920 in the United States, and 1928 in the United Kingdom. Even if we are willing to insist that any people on this planet can afford the "welfare state," even if we are bold enough to deny the grim belief that there never has been quite enough money to go round with comfort, even if we hope for that

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[7] The Conservatives more than saved North Croydon in the by-election of March, 1948, converting their 1945 plurality of 607 and actual minority of 10,107 into a plurality of 11,664 and actual majority of 5,343. The increase in the total vote was 10,116. The Conservatives gained 12,783, Labour gained 1,726, and the Liberals lost 4,393.

The Paisley by-election of February 18, 1948, kept the seat for Labour with a majority of 6,545, the single opposing candidate representing the Scottish Convention Group. The total vote increased by 2,602.

"far-off, divine event" when everybody will own everything, and nobody will own anything, we should stop long enough to hear men who are brave enough to doubt all this—not because of money-bags, but brains.

To make opportunity equal—is this not to waste opportunity? Most of us, after all has been said and done, are of little or no importance: the world has not noticed our coming, and is not likely to regret our going. It does well, however, to remember wicked men like Lenin and Stalin, or that bloodthirsty guttersnipe, Hitler, or Mussolini, hung up at the last by his heels like a hog, at the side of his whore. Not one of these creatures of nightmare ever got so much as a mandate from his people, but they all moved in relentlessly on men and women of good will who were hoping for a better world. Democracy always drops its guard.[8]

Three eminent men of our time have given us warning of our future: a Russian, a German, and an American.

> None of the existing theories fully explains the problem of the decay of ancient civilization, if we can apply the word "decay" to the complex phenomenon which I have endeavoured to describe. Each of them, however, has contributed much to the clearing of the ground, and has helped us to perceive that the main phenomenon which underlies the process of decline is the gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses and the consequent simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic, and intellectual life, which we call the barbarization of the ancient world.

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[8] The Boundary Commissions of England, Scotland, and Wales, in their first general review of Parliamentary constituencies under the House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Acts, 1949, made recommendations increasing the membership of the House of Commons from 625 to 630. These five additional seats were all in England, where six constituencies were abolished and 11 new ones created.

The Act requires reports to be submitted at intervals of not less than three or more than seven years. The English Commission, commenting on this requirement, stated that they were impressed by criticism of reviews at comparatively short intervals, and urged that consideration should be given to lengthening the period between reviews.

The rules governing the Commissions' reviews provided that the number of constituencies in Great Britain should not be substantially greater than 613, of which Scotland should have not less than 71 and Wales not less than 35. The Commissions for Scotland and Wales gave early indication that they were unlikely to allocate more than the existing numbers—71 in Scotland and 36 in Wales. The English Commission aimed at creating 506 constituencies containing as nearly as possible the mean electoral quota—55,670—without cutting across local government boundaries.

Exercising the discretion given in their instructions to depart from a strict application of the rules if special geographical considerations, including the shape, size, and accessibility of a constituency made this desirable, the Commission decided they would be justified in recommending the creation of constituencies to electorates substantially below, or in

> The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will not last unless it be a civilization not of one class, but of the masses. The Oriental civilizations were more stable and lasting than the Greco-Roman, because, being chiefly based on religion, they were nearer to the masses. Another lesson is that violent attempts at levelling have never helped to uplift the masses. They have destroyed the upper classes, and resulted in accelerating the process of barbarization. But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unlaid: Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses? [9]

They who boggle at learning wisdom from the history of the ancient world may prefer the following:

> . . . Nazism presents itself as an example of degeneration in the German character. But one asks further, how could this take place—this astonishing deviation from the main lines of a European development which was apparently moving toward some kind of free-individualistic and binding-collectivist elements making toward the preservation of the liberal gains of the nineteenth century? Instead of a liberal tendency there came the precipitate shift to despotism, the rise of the *terribles simplificateurs* whom Jakob Burckhardt more than half a century ago saw coming. Burckhardt, more clearsighted than any other thinker of his time, also gives the first answers to our problem, which he understood at its first appearance. In the optimistic illusions of the Age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution he already perceived the germ of the great disease—the mistaken striving after the unattainable happiness of the masses of mankind, which then shifted into a desire for profits, power, and a general striving for living well.[10]

Americans do not like to learn from "foreigners." Perhaps they will listen to one of their own people, a "capitalist" to the core, a man to whom the search for "security" was humbug, the junior O. W. Holmes:

> As a young officer during the Civil War, Holmes wrote his sister, "I loathe the thick-fingered clowns we call the people—. . . vulgar, selfish and base. . . ."

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excess of, the electoral quota. In no instance did they recommend the creation of a constituency to an electorate in 1953 of less than 40,000 or more than 80,000: *The Times: House of Commons, 1955* (London, 1955), 25.

[9] Michael Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), 486–487.

[10] Friedrich Meinecke, *The German Catastrophe*, translated by Sidney B. Fay (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950), 1.

Age produced no sea-change. When Carl Becker visited Holmes late in life, he was asked,

"Becker, do you love the human race?"

"I've never discovered anything within myself which you, Mr. Justice, would define as a heart overflowing with human kindness, but I wish them well."

"I don't, Becker. God damn them all, I say."[11]

Mr. Justice Holmes to the contrary, the best thing wise men can do is to "wish them well."

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[11] Irving Bernstein, "The Conservative Mr. Justice Holmes," *New England Quarterly*, XXIII (December, 1950), 435–436, with note of reference to Walton Hamilton, "On Dating Mr. Justice Holmes," *University of Chicago Law Review*, IX (1941), 9*n*.

The Two Sides to the Palestine Problem

WILLIAM PHILLIPS[1]

In considering the Palestine problem we should think for a moment of its historical background. Before the First World War, Palestine had been for several centuries a part of the Turkish Empire. It had no separate entity. Its population consisted of 689,000 persons, of whom about 85,000 were Jews. Shortly after the Turks were driven out of the country by British armies, assisted by Arab forces, the British government, in the year 1917, issued what was known as the Balfour Declaration, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, but stating that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

During the Peace Conference following the First World War, Palestine was placed under the League of Nations, which gave formal recognition to the right of the Jews to reconstruct their National Home in that country, but required that the mandatory power should be responsible "also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion." Great Britain was made the mandatory power on behalf of the League.

The Arabs became restless. Riots spread, and in order to calm troubled waters the British government issued, in 1922, a second declaration, known as the Churchill White Paper, publicly disclaiming any intention of creating a Jewish state in Palestine. It defined the terms of the "National Home as a cultural autonomous Jewish community, and looked forward to the creation of a bi-national but unitary Palestinian State in which Jews and Arabs might coöperate."

Also in 1922 a joint resolution of our Congress gave formal sanction on the part of the United States to the idea of the home. At that time no one seriously considered that the small Jewish minority would rule over the large Arab majority, although some responsible persons on both sides of the Atlantic believed that if a Jewish majority should eventually be reached a Jewish state of Palestine might be the outcome.

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[1] This paper was read at the May, 1948, meeting.

As Jewish immigration into Palestine continued to increase under Hitler's persecution of the Jews, and reached in 1936 twenty-eight per cent of the total population, Arab alarm manifested itself in strikes and violence which presented new problems to the British government. A Royal Commission, known as the Peel Commission, was then sent to Palestine to study the situation. In its report it recommended the partition of the country into an Arab and a Jewish state, and this was accepted by the British government in spite of Jewish objections to the effect that the Balfour Declaration had promised a national home in the whole of Palestine. The following year the British government sent out a commission of technicians to recommend the boundaries between the proposed Jewish and Arab areas. Four months of study ensued, with the result that no decision could be reached on a plan for partition. The problem was too involved, the boundary too difficult to define, and the British government thereupon abandoned the idea of partition. This is a point worth remembering when we consider later the recent action of the United Nations with regard to partition.

In early 1939, the British government extended an invitation to Palestinian Jews and Arabs to meet in London and confer with regard to the future of their country. It was stated at the outset that if there was no agreement the British government would adopt a policy of its own. But the Arab delegation refused to meet the Jews and the conference was conducted with the British dealing separately with the two delegations. No agreement was reached, with the result that the British issued, on May 17, a declaration which is known as the British White Paper of 1939, in which it was declared that the British obligation to foster the creation of the national home had been fulfilled, and that Palestine should be prepared for self-government. A plan for constitutional progress was announced, which it was hoped would permit the creation of a Palestinian state within ten years. Jews unanimously condemned this declaration as a violation of the mandate; while the Arabs accepted it without enthusiasm. The plan was to be submitted to the League of Nations for approval in September, 1939, but the League's activities were suspended with the outbreak of the Second World War, in that month. In 1942 the Zionists, in the so-called Biltmore Declaration, announced their policy in favor of Palestine as a Jewish state.

Following the Second World War, Jewish violence broke out, and

Jewish refugees from Europe began to find their way into the country in increasing numbers. In efforts to keep the peace between Jew and Arab, and to prevent the further illegal landing of the refugees, the British came into frequent collisions with the Jews. Americans were quick to criticize the British methods; and the British government, taking advantage of this criticism, invited the United States to take part in a joint commission of investigation. Thereupon President Truman appointed six Americans, of whom I had the honor to be one, to participate with the six Britishers in the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine.

The terms of reference were:

> 1. To examine political, economic and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein;
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> 2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe;
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> 3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs or Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs 1 and 2 above and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom for ad interim handling of these problems as well as for their permanent solution; and
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> 4. To make such other recommendations to the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom as may be necessary to meet the immediate needs arising from conditions subject to examination under paragraph 2 above, by remedial action in the European countries in question or by the provision of facilities for emigration to and settlement in countries outside Europe.

The President's letter of appointment concluded with the following:

> I have every confidence in you and in the other persons whom I have appointed to the Committee and wish to express my appreciation for the spirit of public service which you have shown in agreeing to serve. I am most anxious that there should be a satisfactory solution of the grave problems entrusted to the Committee for determination and I share in the hope of the British Government that the Committee will be able to complete its important task successfully and with the least possible delay.
>
> Very sincerely yours,
> HARRY TRUMAN

The Committee comprised the following Americans: Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, Chairman, Frank Aydelotte, Frank W. Buxton, Bartley C. Crum, James C. McDonald, and William Phillips. The British members were: Sir John E. Singleton, Chairman, W. F. Crick, R. H. S. Crossman, Sir Frederick Leggett, Major Manningham-Buller, and Lord Morrison. A large staff of experts, law clerks, and stenographers completed the mission. Our two chairmen were both distinguished judges and were to act in rotation, and the rest of us represented a cross section of fairly intelligent citizens and British subjects.

The committee held many public hearings in Washington, London, Cairo, and Jerusalem, and visited, by subcommittees, nearly all of the Jewish refugee centers in Germany and Austria, and several in Southern Italy.

There were at that time about 100,000 of these refugees, a large proportion of whom were in the American Zone in Germany. As further refugees from Poland managed to find their way to Western Europe this number has undoubtedly increased to about 150,000.

On the whole, we found the Jews fairly well provided for. They were not living behind wire fences, as some people would have us believe, but in improvised settlements under the care of UNRRA with liberal relief funds from America. Though moderately well situated inside their settlements, they were surrounded outside by their former enemies. Nor could they obtain their daily rations except in the settlements, and so they were in fact prisoners within certain prescribed boundaries. The great majority were young people between the ages of twenty and thirty, for the aged and the young children had been largely slaughtered by the Germans. Their one passion was to go to Palestine. No country but Palestine wanted them and, encouraged by Zionist propaganda in Germany and Austria, they were fanatical in their determination to get there.

But there were many other refugees besides the Jews. I visited a settlement of eight thousand Lithuanians occupying former German barracks at Wiesbaden, a splendid type of people, who were stranded because they had fought not only against the Germans, but against the Russians as well. Jews and non-Jews alike were living in unhappy conditions, anxiously awaiting a decision regarding their future from the victorious nations, a decision which even today has not been resolved. For many months there have been bills before Congress offering the admission to the United States of a limited number of displaced persons, but so badly have the bills been drawn that amendments were necessary, resulting in months of delay.

Continuing our public hearings in Cairo, we listened to the representative of the Arab League and to other leading Arabs, who were united in their determination to prevent the Jews from accomplishing their purpose of dominating Palestine. Arrived at last in the Holy Land we listened to all the leading Jews and Arabs, and visited also many of the Jewish and Arab communities and talked privately with the people. We found in the important city of Haifa an example of the kind of coöperation which might be attained throughout the country if peace could be established between the two peoples, for the members of the city council were both Jew and Arab. We sat with them around their council table, the Jews on one side, the Arabs on the other, and listened to their discussions. It was a most heartening experience.

In Nazareth I heard much of the necessity of coöperation and the futility of violence; while in other places little hope of conciliation was expressed. By the end of the month we had heard many times over the demands of the two opposing sides.

The Jews insisted: that historically Palestine was their land and that the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations had given them legal rights in Palestine; that immigration into the country should be regulated by the Jews themselves; that Palestine should become a Jewish state as soon as there was a Jewish majority of the population; and that there should be no restrictions in acquiring land from the Arabs and that, since the British White Paper of 1939 had slowed the development of the national home in order to placate Arab opposition, it must be repealed.

The Arabs insisted: that Palestine had been an Arab country for more than a thousand years; that freeing the country from Turkish rule during the First World War did not give the British government the right to dispose of Palestine as they had done in the Balfour Declaration; that Palestine should be an Arab state with equal rights of independence with the other six Arab states; that while Arabs were not anti-Semitic and sympathized with the persecuted Jews, they should not be compelled to atone for the sins of the western countries, which had failed to make provision for the refugees and thus forced the Arabs to accept all of them in Palestine and to give up to them Arab territory;

that Arabs should be masters in their own house, accepting the Jews generously as a minority people, just as the large Jewish minority had long been accepted in the neighboring state of Iraq; and that the British policy as set forth in the White Paper of 1939 should be maintained, including the prohibition of all future Arab land sales to Jews.

We had to consider not only the political claims of Jew and Arab to Palestine, but also the fact that Palestine is the Holy Land, sacred alike to Jew, Arab, and Christian, and that the Holy Places of all three faiths are so interspersed that they cannot be separated into geographical units. Although the concern of Christendom for a peaceful Palestine was not strongly presented, we realized that it must not be overlooked.

We viewed with admiration the material achievements of the Jewish population, their high standards of education, their close settlement on the land, and their remarkable industrial development. And this led us to compare with misgivings the different standards of living between the Jew and Arab, a difference which is steadily increasing with the arrival in Palestine of the European Jews, supported by vast funds from America. The Arab resented the intrusion into his midst of a western civilization of which he was not a part and which had the backing of powerful interests in the United States, while the proud Arab race was being ignored. We were aware that in a wider sense the Arab world extended from the Atlantic coast, across North Africa to Egypt, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Trans Jordan, and as far east as Persia. For centuries their world exceeded the Christian world in extent, wealth, education, and numbers, and although today Arabs are a backward race, as a result of bad governments and personal bickerings between their leaders, they are now moving forward and are capable in the future of great mass power and of playing an important rôle in world affairs. Nor could we forget that the future oil supply of the world lay within their vast territories.

The Jews were well armed and organized, and the Arabs neither organized nor well armed. Hagannah, the Jewish army, was supposed to number about 60,000 trained soldiers. The Irgun and Stern groups, which were largely responsible for the increase of violence and terrorism, operated at that time independently of Hagannah, but should the situation develop into actual warfare we understood these two groups would coöperate with Hagannah, thus creating a Jewish force of between 70,000 and 80,000 men. It was impossible to obtain any figures with regard to Arab forces within Palestine, though military supplies were said to be secretly entering the country from neighboring Arab states. But there was no organized Arab army and it was clear that, if fighting occurred, support from outside Arab states would be required. In these conditions it was not surprising that British authorities in Palestine were already looking forward to the day when their responsibilities under the Mandate would cease and their army could be withdrawn.

Having completed our study of conditions in Palestine, the Committee of Inquiry adjourned to Lausanne, Switzerland, to prepare its report to the American and British governments.

We were all anxious that there should be no minority report. We saw the impossibility of transforming Palestine into a single Jewish state. But partition of the country into Jewish and Arab states held certain attractions. It was the solution if the two sides could agree, but without agreement it seemed likely only to aggravate the situation. The Arabs, we knew, would object because of their conviction that once a Jewish state, no matter how small, was set up in Palestine, Jewish immigration would flow into it unchecked and would quickly overflow into the Arab world. The pressure from the European refugees to reach Palestine would be impossible to resist.

But there was still another difficulty about partition. In order to survive as an independent Jewish state, such a small territory must have friendly economic relations with its neighboring states, otherwise it would have to exist largely on the bounty of American dollars. And then there were the difficult problems of boundaries, the interests of minorities within the boundaries, and the care of the holy places. We debated partition at length, together with the thorny subject of present and future immigration. Gradually our views on these and other points became less divergent, and in the end we had a unanimous report.

No report agreed to by six Americans and six Englishmen, each acting individually and independently, could be everything that one wished. Nevertheless, our recommendations were the result of careful and painstaking study. We did not attempt to recommend a form of government for Palestine, since the hostility between Jew and Arab made it impossible, in our view, to establish then either a Palestinian state for both Jew and Arab, or two independent states. We felt that a period of time must elapse under a trusteeship of the United Nations before this hostility could be expected to lessen sufficiently to allow both sides to consider wisely the future of the country. But unhappily the two years of inaction which have been allowed to elapse since our report have seen a violent increase in the hostility between Jew and Arab.

First, we recommended that since Palestine alone could not meet the emigration needs of the Jewish victims of persecution, the whole world share responsibility for them and indeed for the resettlement of all "Displaced Persons," for they were all a heritage of the war, and the responsibility for their future lay particularly upon the victorious nations. Less than twenty-seven per cent of the total number of displaced persons in Europe were Jews. Furthermore, it was felt that if the pressure on Palestine to receive all the Jewish refugees could be relieved, by providing homes and new lives for them elsewhere, the hostile attitude of the Palestine Arabs would be lessened.

Second, we recommended that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of the Jewish victims of persecution and "that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions permit." It was felt that once in possession of a certificate, the holder would await his turn with patience, allowing an orderly movement to proceed, with due regard for transportation and arrangements for his reception in Palestine. The movement to Palestine would relieve the problem of the Centers, which had become a difficult one for our occupation forces.

Third, we recommended that there should be no Arab and no Jewish state and that the form of government ultimately to be established should, under international guarantees, fully protect and preserve the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom, and the Moslem and Jewish faiths. And we affirmed that since it is a Holy Land, Palestine is set apart from other lands and is dedicated to the precepts and practices of the Brotherhood of Man, and not to those of narrow nationalism. We decided that without an agreement between the two peoples regarding partition, a tiny Jewish state with its free immigration would be used by the Jews as a step towards dominating the entire country, which after all was their declared policy. Therefore, partition would be no solution, but rather an aggravation of the problem, and it was discarded.

Fourth, we recommended that until the hostility and violence disappeared the government of Palestine be continued under mandate, pending the execution of a trusteeship under the United Nations. We realized that a long period of trusteeship might be necessary, with the consequent burden on any one country, a burden which would be lightened if it had the support of other members of the United Nations.

Fifth, we recommended that the trustee should proclaim that Arab economic, educational, and political advancement in Palestine was of equal importance to that of the Jews, and that measures should be taken at once to bridge the gap between the two standards of living by raising that of the Arabs.

Sixth, we said that we could not construct a yardstick for the future annual immigration into Palestine. In this disordered world, speculation as to the economic position of any country a few years hence would be a hazardous proceeding. Therefore, until a trusteeship had been created, and after the admission of the 100,000 as already provided for, we recommended that "the Administration of Palestine, while ensuring the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, should facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions."

The other four recommendations dealt with land policy, economic development, education, and the need for peace. These were all considered in the light of the future well-being, prosperity, and happiness of Palestine as a whole. New land policy should be based on freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, community, or creed, and providing adequate protection for the interests of small owners. Economic development depended largely upon peaceful conditions within the country and on the coöperation of Arab and Jew, which would permit a full and free exchange of goods with neighboring countries. Actual collaboration between the two peoples would be necessary on projects involving water, which is the key to agricultural development.

We recommended compulsory education to apply to both Jews and Arabs in the interests of conciliation of the two peoples, as well as to raise the educational level of the Arabs. And finally we dwelt on the need for the maintenance of law and order throughout Palestine which was essential for the good of all, including the new immigrants.

The ten recommendations formed a plan which we had reason to hope would point the way towards a future Palestinian state. While Jews would continue to emigrate to Palestine, they could also emigrate to other countries, together with the rest of the displaced persons. They would maintain their home in Palestine and share in its government, but there would be no Jewish state *of* Palestine, nor a Jewish state *within* Palestine.

A few days before the end of our labors I sent a personal telegram to the State Department expressing my concern with regard to the danger of leaks to the press before the publication of the entire document, since each recommendation formed only a part of the whole. I added a suggestion that if, when the report was released, a word might be said that although there had not been time to study it or to exchange views with the British government, it had been well prepared and deserved close study and consideration; then, under such conditions, the report would be launched in favorable circumstances. Otherwise, I feared it would have a bad reception because of its failure to recommend Palestine as a Jewish state. My fears were warranted. When making it public, Washington disregarded my advice to treat the plan as a whole and, without mentioning the nine other recommendations, singled out as a great achievement the committee's unanimous opinion with regard to the issuance of 100,000 certificates for admission to Palestine.

In a flash the Palestinian Arab was presented with the expected arrival in his midst of 100,000 new refugees, without any knowledge of the other nine recommendations, some of which had been framed for his exclusive benefit. The Arab world was incensed. The Zionists were indignant because of our recommendation against a Jewish state, although they welcomed the proposed admission of the refugees.

Moreover, the British government, which was making another attempt to reach an agreement between the Jews and Arabs through a further conference in London, was embarrassed, and laid the blame for the failure of their efforts to the unfortunate reaction resulting from the publicity from Washington. Thereupon, the report of the Anglo-American Committee vanished from the scene and has never been revived. Four months of intensive labor went for nothing. The enormous expense involved in providing for travelling and the accommodations of the committee members and their large staff of experts, assistants, and clerks was wasted, and all that remained was an interesting little volume published by the Government Printing Office containing the report in question.

Our findings and recommendations having been entirely disregarded, the next step was the appointment by the President of a Cabinet Committee of Three to consider afresh the situation. Their representatives then went to London to discuss with the British ways and means to meet the immediate predicament, and returned with renewed recommendations for partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. I thought their decision was too hastily made, but it seemed to be well regarded by the President and the State Department. The Administration was still thinking in terms of Jewish votes, and by this time the Zionists had accepted the proposal of a small Jewish state instead of an entire Jewish dominated Palestine.

Shortly thereafter came the announcement by the British government that on May 15, 1948, they would surrender to the United Nations their Palestinian mandate and withdraw their troops the following August. A special United Nations commission was set up, representatives of which then went to Palestine, to study and recommend action. It returned with a majority and minority report—the majority for partition, the minority for some form of federated Palestinian state. When in November, 1947, partition came to a vote in the assembly, the necessary number of affirmative votes were obtained, I am informed, by the persuasive efforts of the United States, presumably under instruction from the President—a highly improper action on his part. The Soviets voted with the majority. The rest of the story is well known to us all. Arab violence exploded as a result of the action of the United Nations, and Palestine has been swept into a state of undeclared warfare in which British, Jews, and Arabs are all involved—the British in an effort to keep the peace until May 15, the Jews in defense of partition, and the Arabs united in opposition.

Over 3,000 persons have been killed and 5,000 injured since the vote of the Assembly for partition. In February of this year the partition recommendation was placed before the Security Council for implementation, but meanwhile the United States had decided that the Charter did not permit an Assembly recommendation to be enforced unless it could be shown that peace was threatened. But in the Security Council only two of the five powers—the United States and the U.S.S.R.—would say that peace was threatened.

The situation was rapidly deteriorating, and in an effort to prevent an explosion, the United States on March 19 came out for trusteeship, reversing its previous position. But trusteeship required a truce between Arabs and Jews. Given a truce it had two advantages over partition. It could be approved by the Assembly by a two-thirds vote and implemented by the Trusteeship Council, and police forces could be provided without the veto; that is, without the inclusion of Soviet troops. But neither Arab nor Jew would agree to a truce for the whole of Palestine except under his own terms, which made it unacceptable to both. However, the city of Jerusalem, where the principal Jewish and Arab holy places are located, has been declared neutral, but how effective this declaration is, I do not know. It is probable that May 15, the date of the transfer of British authority to the United Nations, will see the proclamation of a Hebrew state in that part of Palestine occupied by the Jewish army, and that the proclamation will then be sent to the United Nations with a demand for recognition of the new state. In due course, we shall know what reply, if any, is made, and what reaction will be forthcoming from the Arab world, but war seems very probable. Yesterday the United States and Great Britain conceded that, if Jews and Arabs are determined to fight, the United Nations can do nothing but offer mediation.

The situation will probably remain tense and with dangerous possibilities for years to come.

Memoirs

Worthington Chauncey Ford

STEWART MITCHELL

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1909 to 1929, was born in Brooklyn, New York, on February 16, 1858, the son of Gordon Lester Ford (1823–1891) and Emily Ellsworth (Fowler) Ford. He was a great-grandson of Noah Webster. Paul Leicester Ford (1865–1902), author of *The True George Washington* (1896) and *Janice Meredith: A Story of the American Revolution* (1899), was one of his younger brothers. He was educated at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute and at Columbia. In 1882, he became an editorial writer on the *New York Herald*. In October, 1899, at the age of thirty-one, he married Bettina Fillmore Quin, by whom he had two daughters, Crimora Chauncey and Emily Ellsworth.

After having filled several offices in the bureaus of the Federal Government, in 1897 he joined the staff of the Boston Public Library, where he remained for five years. For seven years thereafter, he was Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. In 1909, Charles Francis Adams, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1895 to 1915, had him appointed Editor of the Society in succession to Charles Card Smith, who had retired in 1907. This memoir will properly be devoted to the twenty years of his life which Ford gave to the fame and honor of the senior historical society in the United States.

His industry was prodigious, partly, perhaps, because the failure of his hearing shut him off from many of the pleasures with which other men amuse themselves, or waste their time. During his editorship, he produced or supervised the publishing of no fewer than forty-nine volumes. In 1915, he persuaded the Society to install a photostat machine and thereafter a torrent of facsimiles relating to American history poured from it—two hundred and sixty-nine numbers in all in ten years.

Practically isolated on the third floor of the building of the Society, he worked like a beaver, even crawling around on his hands and knees at times, hunting for some precious bit of copy among piles of proofs in galleys or in pages. There, he brewed countless cups of tea and carried on his correspondence. The official letters were dictated and typed, but those to friends he usually wrote by hand in a neat, characteristic script. His social life seems to have evaporated, for when a solitary wife protested his refusal ever to go out at night, Ford told her that she might just as well continue to be taken for a widow. He did not know that men who work too hard are in grave danger of spreading themselves too thin, and that most writers write too much for the good of their own reputations.

But he was not all brain; he had a weakness for golf. Although his appreciation of good food and fine wine was keen, and he could almost carouse on occasions, he never ran to fat, but was lean and rather dapper in appearance, with a spry step, even in his old age. He never smoked, and he seemed to dislike the habit in others.

Of the publications of the Society, the noblest monument to Mr. Ford as a scholar in his own right is the great edition of William Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*, put out in two handsome volumes in 1912. His greatest popular success as a publisher was *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography*, brought out in 1918, which has strangely enough become an American classic. This volume was received with decidedly mixed feelings, especially in and around Boston. President Eliot was overheard to remark: "An overrated man and a much overrated book."[1] In spite of this pontifical pronouncement, the *Education* has earned for the Society over fifty thousand dollars in royalties during thirty-seven years. Henry Cabot Lodge, then President of the Society, and Mr. Ford exchanged amusing letters over the vexation of certain Boston Brahmins at the appearance of the autobiographies of Charles Francis Adams and Henry Adams —Ford referring to some of their critics as "troglodytes."

Immediately after his retirement as Editor of the Society, Ford pitched into the work of preparing the first volume of the *Letters of Henry Adams, 1858–1891*, which came off the press in 1930. Then he went abroad and settled down in a little villa in Le Vésinet, Seine et Oise, a suburb of Paris, as the Director of the European Mission of the Library of Congress, for which he secured facsimiles of documents in European archives and libraries relating to American history. In the autumn of 1937 he returned to the United States to edit the second volume of the *Letters of Henry Adams, 1892–1918*, which came out in 1938. During this period he lived at the Union Club, on Park Street, and did most of his work at the Boston Athenæum. These two volumes of *Letters* reveal far more of the complicated, and not always pleasant, character of Henry Adams than the painfully studied pose and affected irony of the *Education.*

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[1] See Bliss Perry, in the *Yale Review*, XX (Winter, 1931), 382.

In the spring of 1938, when he was in his eighty-first year, he deliberately put his head in the lion's mouth and returned to his home near Paris, even though, a few weeks before he sailed, dining with me in Boston on the night of Friday, March eleventh, he learned by telephone, from the office of the *Transcript,* that Hitler was marching into Austria! The Fall of France found him still at Le Vésinet. Fighting his way onto a train in the panic-stricken capital, he escaped to the Riviera. Then he worked his way across unoccupied France and over the Pyrenees into Spain, and thence to Lisbon. There he had to live from hand to mouth among thousands of refugees. He finally secured passage on the *Excalibur,* only to die at sea on March 7, 1941, weary, but full of honor, after many weeks of anxious wandering.

Ford's character was a strange combination of contradictions. He could be courteous, helpful, and even amiable, but there were occasions when he was tactless and arbitrary. He would not suffer fools gladly, for he wilfully forgot, or perhaps he had never learned, that "the more part of mankind is foolish." He was furiously intolerant of frauds, and, in particular, of arrogance which aspired to intellectual eminence. The following exchange of letters speaks volumes.

Boston, December 5, 1918

MY DEAR SENATOR LODGE, . . . Dr. Green died this morning—a blessed relief for himself and for the Society. I have the memorandum prepared by Mr. Adams, six years ago, when it looked like the end, for the meeting of the Society following the funeral. It proposed to devote the entire meeting to different speakers; but I have cut out a part and have asked Judge Grant to speak on the Mayoralty (he was the Dr.'s secretary), Dr. Warren on his medical career, Tuttle on personal relations, and myself as a sort of Devil's Advocate, telling some truths which may appear harsh. But I hate to see such a mass of selfishness handed down to posterity as a great man. The Society has lost so heavily by his incumbency that a million dollars cannot make it good. But what is printed will naturally be "on the soft pedal," for we cannot wash our dirty linen in public. Mr. Adams would have touched off a portrait in high lights, for he had a liking for the man, though thoroughly disliking him as a librarian.

Sincerely yours,
WORTHINGTON C. FORD

Having read this letter, the President of the Society could not but concur.

[Washington, D. C.] December 7, 1918

My Dear Mr. Ford, Thank you very much for your letter of the fifth. I read in the *Transcript* last night the account of Dr. Green. He has had a long life, was in the fulness of years, and existence, I take it, had become a burden to him.

The Society, of course, must take ample notice of his death, because he has been so long identified with us. But personally I have known him for—I was going to say for all my life, but—ever since I can remember, almost, and he was always very kind and pleasant to me.

I confess, however, that his attitude towards the Society, his announced refusal to give the Society anything after the way in which he used it and lived in its rooms, leaves on my mind a most unpleasant impression. There is a lack of gratitude about it under the circumstances which is not pleasant.

I approve wholly of your arrangements as you state them to me.

Sincerely yours,
Worthington C. Ford, Esq. H. C. Lodge

The longer Ford thought, the more indomitable he became.

Boston, January 13, 1919

My Dear Senator Lodge, . . . "Diggings" (no other term would be appropriate) in the accumulations of Dr. Green, develop a number of very curious facts. We find papers which were given to him as long as forty years ago for the Society which were never turned over to it, papers of value and many of historical interest. But we have also found that years ago there was given to the Society the Gosnold Memorial at Cuttyhunk, a tower situated on an island in one of the lakes. The transfer seems never to have been completed. Cuttyhunk is some distance from Groton and the two names are not at all alike, hence the Doctor took no interest in the matter. We are now seeing if our title is good, and if we are really a custodian of the tower.

This is only one of a number of questions buried in the inertia of our late Librarian. In fact, I could hardly name two more expert librarians of the old school than Sibley and Green, with possibly a third in Little of the Astor, New York. They each represented a masterly inactivity, fruitful to those who came after but very trying during their incumbency. I thought at one time the truth might come out about the Doctor, but I believe now it would be impossible to tell the truth or even to get part of it. It would vie in interest and extent with *The Thousand and One Nights.*

Sincerely yours,
Worthington C. Ford

The friends Ford had, if too few, were faithful, for they admired him genuinely for his constant courage and his colossal capacity for work. Scholar after scholar gave him praise for his invaluable assistance. He was President of the American Historical Association in 1917. In the *American Historical Review* for July, 1941, there appeared a handsome tribute to him, unsigned, but probably from the hand of the managing editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler. Those who would read a complete and discriminating account of his achievements must turn to this account. In 1949, Samuel Flagg Bemis appropriately dedicated his *John Quincy Adams* as follows: "To the Memory of Worthington Chauncey Ford, Friend, and Prince of Editors."

George Hinckley Lyman

HENRY LEE SHATTUCK

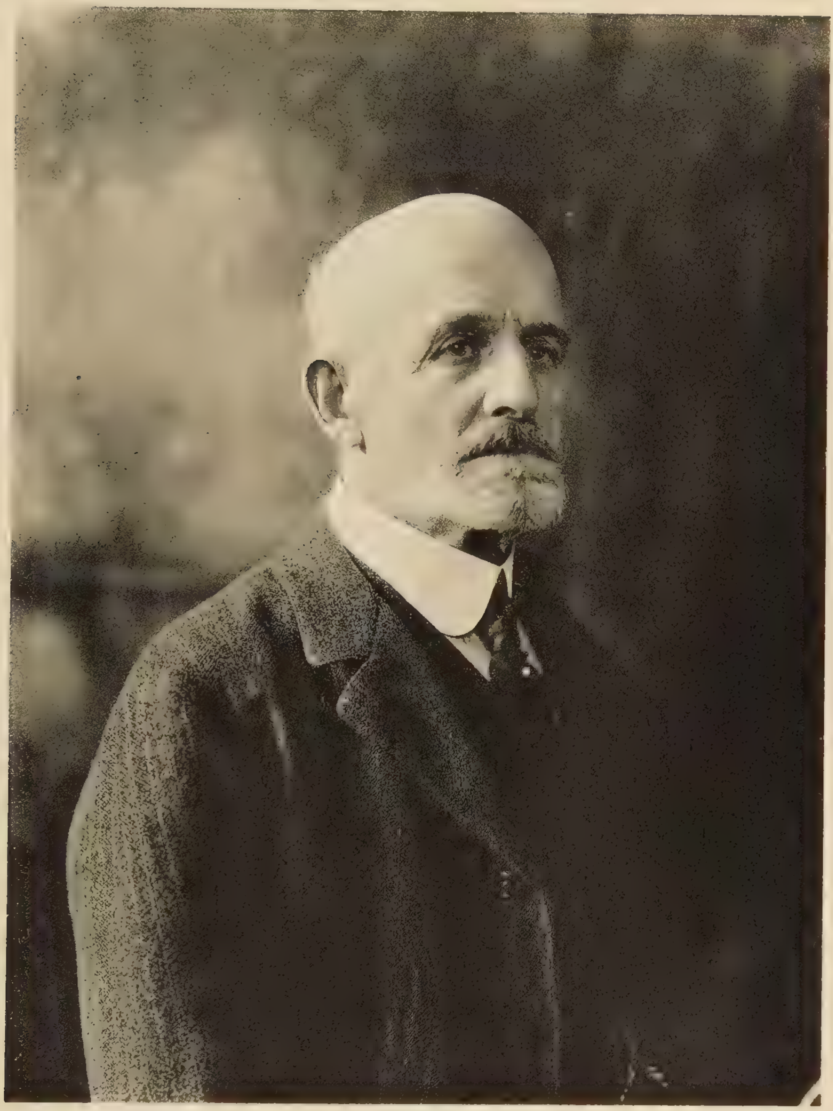
GEORGE HINCKLEY LYMAN was born in Boston December 13, 1851, and died there May 17, 1945, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. He attended St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, and was graduated from Harvard College in the Class of 1873, and from the Harvard Law School in 1877.

After a brief employment with Ropes, Gray and Loring (now Ropes, Gray, Best, Coolidge and Rugg) he became actively interested in politics, and rose to the highest positions in the Republican Party of Massachusetts—state chairman and national committeeman.

I came to know him when, in the 1920's, I was elected to a political dining club known as the Patriots, of which he was one of the organizers. A long series of governors of Massachusetts and others holding high positions in Massachusetts politics were members of that club, and during the almost uninterrupted sway of the Republican Party of the state in the last part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, the club had great influence in the selection of candidates and the conduct of campaigns. I recall with pleasure several dinners of the club at Mr. Lyman's house. He was an admirable host, and he had many interesting stories to tell of men and measures.

From 1898 to 1910 he was Collector of the Port of Boston. During World War I he was a member of the Public Safety Committee, and served on its executive committee and as chairman of two of its subcommittees. After the end of the war he wrote its history. He also served on the Pilgrim Tercentenary Committee.

He was elected to Resident Membership in the Massachusetts Historical Society on November 13, 1930, and resigned on November 15, 1938. During this period he was active in many ways. He served on the Building Committee in 1931 and 1932, contributed toward meeting the annual deficit, and gave the Society a collection of Theodore Roosevelt letters. He also read two papers. One of these told of a meeting with Abraham Lincoln when with his father he visited Washington as a boy of nine, on June 25, 1861. In the other he gave reminiscences of Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt.



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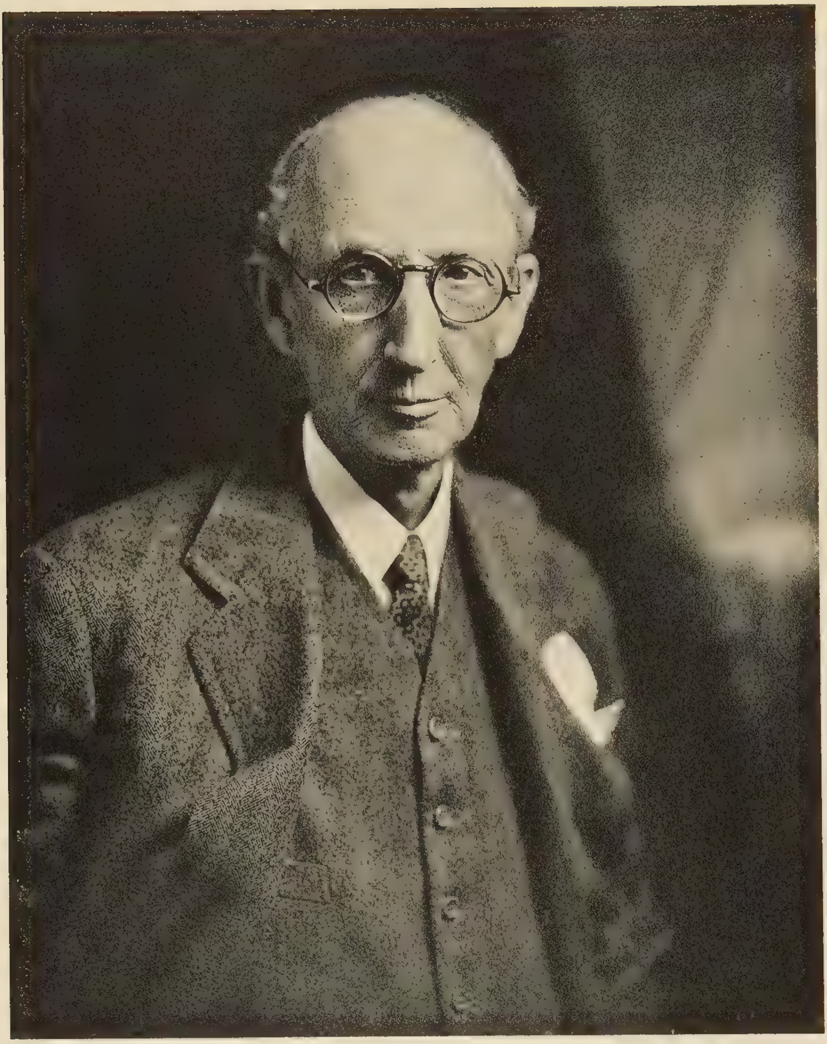

George S. Cabot.

George Edward Cabot

M. A. DeWolfe Howe

George Edward Cabot was born in Brookline, February 22, 1861, and died in Boston, April 18, 1946. He was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society June 14, 1934. The *Proceedings* of the Society for the twelve years that preceded his death in 1946 abound in items testifying to his interest in its affairs. As a member and chairman of committees—House, Auditing, Nominating, Finance—and through service on the Council, he contributed steadily and wisely to the conduct of the Society's business. Nor was this by any means all. As a grandson of Thomas Handasyd Perkins he had inherited records of the China Trade conducted by J. and T. H. Perkins. These and other family possessions of historical interest—including a copy of the Apocrypha that had belonged to Governor Simon Bradstreet—were, through his generosity, added to the collection of the Society. Nine such separate gifts are recorded in four successive volumes, 65-68, of our *Proceedings*.

George Cabot's relations with this Society fell within only twelve of his eighty-five years. At Noble's school in Boston he was prepared to enter the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he was a student, especially of physics, 1880–1882. His strong scientific bent led him at once into what was then the infant industry of electricity. Within ten years of his earlier manhood he became in turn manager of the telephone exchange in Brookline, superintendent of the New England Weston Electric Light Company, and treasurer of the Holtzer-Cabot Electric Company.

On April 12, 1899, he married Eliza Tileston Hemenway. Of that marriage there were two sons. The elder, George Hemenway Cabot, died in 1919, at the age of eighteen. The second son, Edward Clarke Cabot, the sole survivor of his immediate family, is now editor and publisher of a newspaper in Taos, New Mexico. To this son I am indebted for the following statements regarding his father: "He installed the first electricity in the Old Boston Opera House and in other public buildings. In after years he said he was surprised the buildings never caught fire, considering the poor insulation of the early days. As a hobby, he built radios at which he was skilled. He was the first person to send radio signals across the Atlantic, being able to make contact with a friend on the Riviera. He used, I think, a cat's whisker in the mechanism."

From the same source I learn that he was one of the first golfers in America, and was instrumental in bringing golf to New England, also that he laid out the courses at the Country Club in Brookline and the Myopia Hunt and Essex County Clubs.

In 1892 he became engaged in the business of real estate, and in 1903, with his brother, Norman Winslow Cabot, and Francis Murray Forbes, formed the real-estate firm of Cabot, Cabot, and Forbes. There is a profane story of a bemused Philadelphian, en route to Bar Harbor after a gay evening in New York, driving from the South to the North Station in Boston, and noticing from his taxicab a real-estate sign, "Apply to Cabot, Cabot & Forbes," which caused him to exclaim, "Thank God I know where I am!" This story, if it was ever told to George Cabot, would have been sure to amuse him.

He was indeed a Bostonian, in his business, in his concern for the local, as indeed for the more general, past, and especially in his devotion to a distinctively local institution, the Boston Athenæum. Ever since it was established in 1808, it had owed much to his progenitors—Cabots and Perkinses—as the portraits of James Perkins, by Stuart, and of T. H. Perkins, by Sully, hanging on its walls, bear witness. Linking him still more closely with the institution is the very building in which it has been established since 1850, for its architect was his father, Edward Clarke Cabot. He was himself elected to its board of trustees in 1906, became vice-president in 1932, and from 1936 until his death in 1946 was president of the board. He was merely one of the proprietors when they decided, after violent differences of opinion, not to abandon the Beacon Street building and build on newly acquired land now occupied by the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. He was a trustee when the building of his father's design was brilliantly reconstructed and enlarged by a later architect, Henry Forbes Bigelow. There was no trustee to whom this diminution of risk of fire and adaptation to expanding meant more, and none whose counsel in matters of practical detail was of greater value. It was said of him, in relation to the construction of buildings, that he was such a perfectionist that every nail had to be washed and polished before it was driven in.

Near the end of his presidency the long service of Charles Knowles

Bolton as librarian came to an end and Walter Muir Whitehill, the present librarian and director, succeeded to his post. In all his dealings with the library staff, throughout its grades, and with the board over which he presided, his sound judgment and considerate spirit won him an admiration in which respect and affection were blended in equal measure. His qualities of modesty, humor, and intelligence gave an individual flavor to the hospitalities of his Boston house in Marlborough Street and his summer cottage at Smith's Point, Manchester. The best of hosts is also a good guest, and at other tables than his own he met with the welcome awaiting the most agreeable of commensals.

Allen French

Allan Forbes

Allen French wrote enough learned books and pamphlets to qualify him for membership in any historical society. Though a Boston man, he chose Concord as his home because of its fine library and its moderate scale of living. In his long years of residence there he came to love it as much as if he had been a native. Though it takes three generations to make a real "Concord man," it has been said that French shared Old Concord with Emerson, Buttrick, Judge Hoar, and others.

His love of Concord's past was in keeping with his intense interest in our early Revolutionary period, but he took an active part also in the modern organizations of the town. Those who saw him in his daily life loved and admired him. One of his biographers wrote of him:

> He was a born student, whether it was the history of art, the raising of vegetables, study of the Bible, or antiques or early tombs. There was behind everything his great curiosity, the need to read and observe, the quick note taking, the pushing farther and farther into the subject and finally the digesting of it and the intelligent reference in his own mind.

French described his early days to the secretary of the "Social Circle" in his town, to which he belonged:

> I was educated in the Boston schools. The family tale relates that I began in a kindergarten, and that I played hookey, a remembrance of which lingers in my own mind, as I see my diminutive self longingly peeking at my playmates at recess, but loyally sticking to the boy who had lured me into revolt. Confronted with the evidence of my crime, I am reported to have said in disgust, "I meant to have kept that to myself." I report this here because never since in my life have I done anything unconventional.

Attending the Rice Primary and Grammar Schools he progressed to the Boston Latin School, where he failed to distinguish himself for the reason that he had never studied English grammar. Another step took him to the English High School, from which he was graduated third in his class. "I naturally went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology," he wrote. Here honors came to him. Two summers were then spent at the University of Berlin. Continuing, he wrote: "My health then giving out, I returned home, and in order to wreck it completely, I took a year at Harvard, which left me with the A.B. degree and a fine case of nervous exhaustion." It has been said that so eager was he to become efficient in grammar that he and his family often referred to the dictionary or the encyclopedia during mealtimes.

French's thirty-one works of various importance are too numerous to attempt to describe, but not too numerous to mention a few. His first effort was at the early age of eight, entitled a "History of Hull." There was only one copy, illustrated by the author. *The Colonials* appeared in 1902, followed soon by *Sir Marrok*, and then by several books about Iceland. A treatise on gardening was written in 1907 and four years later *The Siege of Boston* was printed. In 1915 came a book described as admirable—*Old Concord*. Ten years later *The Day of Concord and Lexington* was published, establishing the author as an authority on Concord Revolutionary history. In 1935 he wrote a memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

On one of Allen French's trips abroad he was furnished with original material concerning Lexington and Concord, which led to his publication of *A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston*. In a poem by Dr. Charles W. Hutchinson at the Sesquicentennial in May, 1932, a few lines ran as follows:

> . . . most thoroughly
> Delved he in Concord's battled past
> And held our rapt attention fast
> With stories of the famous fray
> Immortalizing Concord's Day . . . .

Another visit abroad gave him the chance to study some unpublished documents of General Gage, British Military Governor in Boston in 1775. On one of these trips the Earl of Dartmouth granted the visitor permission to make some four hundred photographs of documents among his family papers, recording events in the years 1774 and 1775. These photographs were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Another article, far removed from Concord, described the interesting story of the Ile de Ré. This attractive island, opposite La Rochelle off the west coast of France, was a stronghold for French Protestant exiles, many of whom came to this country. Allen French writes especially of the siege and conquest of the island by Cardinal Richelieu.

It seemed only natural that this distinguished citizen of Concord should be asked to become a member of a number of organizations of various kinds. He served for many years as chairman and as a member of the library committee, and the librarian found that his opinion of books was invaluable. He was deacon of the First Parish Church and for a number of years was also Sunday School superintendent. He was a member of the Thoreau Society. He trained at the Plattsburg Camp and was a sergeant of the State Guard, and during the police strike in 1921 acted as policeman. Although, of course, much out of place in this position, he won the respect of the whole company of volunteers. He belonged to the well-known society of Concord Minute Men. He was one of the founders of the Antiquarian Society of his town and an active member for forty-eight years, during which time he was elected vice-president and later, president. He was active in the Saturday Club and the Dramatic Club, both of Concord. The ancient club called the "Social Circle" was one of his most interesting associations.

Outside of Concord he belonged to this Society, the Colonial Society, and the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester. W. Sumner Appleton, secretary of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, said of French, "As an antiquarian he had few peers and no superiors."

Allen French's married life was an exemplary one. His first marriage was to Ellen Dorrance, of Providence, who died in 1918. Four years later he married Aletta Lillibridge, of New York, who shared his interest in history.

Upon his death in October, 1946, the *Concord Journal*, in an article written by T. Morris Longstreth, printed several paragraphs very descriptive of this unusual citizen:

> One went away from Allen French feeling a lift, feeling that the day was somehow pleasanter. You left assured that the old-fashioned virtues of the gentleman still persisted upon earth without being old-fashioned at all. . . .
>
> It followed naturally that hospitality should be his delight, the very atmosphere of his home. . . .
>
> He was a born source-seeker and prospector for original documents. He must know exactly, and to unearth some historical substantiation in an English cellar gave him as much joy as a gold-hunter finding the mother lode. . . .
>
> The greatness of Allen French was already verifiable, however. *The First Year of the American Revolution* stood on the shelves. This definitive masterpiece assures its author of a name in living American literature while the nation lasts.

With its publication, as I once wrote without being contradicted, Allen French took his place in the Concord Succession.

Allen French made a true statement when he said: "If a man takes his work seriously and himself not seriously, he has a good chance of doing something worthwhile."

Lawrence Shaw Mayo

CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON

LAWRENCE S. MAYO died at his summer home at Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, on July 23, 1947. He was born at Newton Centre, Massachusetts, on June 26, 1888, a son of Lawrence and Helen Isadore (Merrill) Mayo. From Newton High School he went to Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1910, *cum laude*. He then entered the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, where he took an M.A. in 1911. In the autumn of 1911 he became the assistant in Edward Channing's famous course in American History, a position which he held until 1916, when he was called to University Hall to become Assistant Dean of Harvard College. After three years in the Dean's Office he was drawn away from administrative work, which he greatly enjoyed, by the urge to write. In 1914 there had appeared his *St. Mary's River, a Boundary*, and in 1916, his *Jeffery Amherst*; but he felt impelled to devote his full time to his *John Wentworth*, which came out in 1921. At this period he also wrote biographies of Franklin and Webster for translation into Italian, and edited the diary of John Davis Long. Mr. Mayo wrote as the mood influenced him, not, like the professionals, with the grim persistence of a laboring man digging a ditch. There were times, however, when he showed a professional persistence quite unexpected in one as gentle as he, as when he resorted to burglary to obtain access to a manuscript which was being wrongfully kept in hiding.

Five years wearied the muse, so in 1924 Mr. Mayo happily returned to the Dean's Office. Three years later he was called upstairs to the office of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, where he was assistant dean from 1927 to 1940, associate dean from 1940 to 1943, and acting dean in the years 1939–1940 and 1943. The men who were students under Mr. Mayo's care have a respect and affection for him unsuspected by members of his own academic generation. Such gentleness, such firm righteousness, and such ready disregard of the letter of the law cannot have been frequently combined in one college dean. His conscientiousness was remarkable. Many a boy received his degree on schedule only because Mr. Mayo searched every student record for possible technical flaws. Lest diplomas be held back it was his custom

Lawrence Shaw Mayo

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to pay term bills which students overlooked in the excitement of the closing days of the academic year. To boys who were in financial trouble he used to say, with solemn faith in his deception as he drew his clasp purse from his pocket, "The University has a special fund. . . ." To the Dean's Office he gave the laborious consistency which he denied to Clio. For every afternoon at Symphony he paid promptly with an evening's work in the office.

The years which Mr. Mayo spent in University Hall were by no means unproductive of scholarship, however. In 1936 there appeared his *John Endecott* and his revision of Thomas Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, and in 1937, his *John Langdon of New Hampshire*. He had, moreover, served a term as managing editor of the *New England Quarterly*. When in 1943 he finally left the Dean's Office, he was impelled by the desire to have more time to write, by the pressure of work which resulted from the growth of the Graduate School, and by some degree of dislike for the proposed plans for reorganization. His immediate purpose was to finish his history of the Winthrop family, after which he began to edit a volume of Harvard College records for the *Publications* of the Colonial Society.

Mr. Mayo was a conscientious servant of the learned societies, and particularly of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was elected in 1919, and for many years he served on the committees on the library, the cabinet, publications, and nominations. To the *Proceedings* he contributed papers on "The King's Woods," "Colonel John Stark at Winter Hill, 1775," "Jeremy Belknap and J. Q. Adams, 1787," and "Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, 1782–1784."

During most of his life Mr. Mayo lived in the family home in West Newton with his mother, to whom he was devoted. Her recent death and his own rapidly failing health aged him greatly in the last few years. However, to the great joy of his friends, he was married on June 11, 1947, to Miss Catherine Barton, a friend and companion of long standing who shared his scholarly interests. We never saw him happier than he was in his last weeks in Boston, a happiness which showed its effect in his rapidly improving health. We were bewildered to hear that he had taken his own life at Wolfeboro. His sickness must have suddenly reached his mind, for he would have suffered anything rather than hurt another person.

William Sumner Appleton

Bertram Kimball Little

Being born behind the purple panes of 39, one of Beacon Street's finest bow-fronted houses, and living in it until 1886 may well have contributed to William Sumner Appleton's early interest in art and architecture, and to the independence of spirit, judgment, and action which resulted in his quiet, self-regardless leadership in a pioneer movement. Other qualities which Sumner, as this son of William Sumner and Edith Stuart (Appleton) Appleton was always called, possessed—such as his kindliness, patience, frugality—came naturally from them and from the English ancestors who had settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1636.

By 1750 a group of these early settlers, feeling the urge to move on, founded New Ipswich, New Hampshire, where, tradition has it, they offered to work the farm of Deacon Isaac Appleton if he would teach their children, and this was the beginning of Appleton Academy. As the eight sons of the deacon grew up, first Samuel and then Nathan journeyed to Boston to purchase supplies needed by such rural communities. They were so successful in their trading that by 1794 the two brothers had formed a partnership and established a warehouse on Cornhill.

In 1816 Nathan Appleton built the Boston house in which his grandson, Sumner, was born on May 29, 1874, the only boy in a family of four girls. Sumner, never a husky lad, had such a severe case of diphtheria in his late teens that he had to take his college entrance examinations in a wheel chair. At the impressionable age of thirteen, he had the experience of living more than a year abroad with his whole family.

A series of twenty-four closely packed scrapbooks vividly reveal Sumner Appleton's social activities and developing interests during his undergraduate years at Harvard, 1892–1896, and on through the first decade of the new century, during which he studied in the academic years 1905–1906 at the University's Bussey Institution, and 1906–1907 at its Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. For example, in 1893, besides receiving formal notice of his privilege to be a member of the Saturday Evening Dancing Class, he chose to witness a performance in Eleanora Duse's first American tour, see Julia Marlowe in *The Love Chase* at the Hollis Street Theatre, and hear concerts by Paderewski and Damrosch conducting the New York Symphony Orchestra in the Music Hall. He attended the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago that year and the United States National Lawn Tennis Tournament at Newport Casino the next.

Then during the summer and autumn following the receipt of his A.B. degree, Sumner made the "Grand Tour" with his former tutor. In 1898 he formed a real-estate firm with Lombard Williams and was actively engaged in it some three years until ill health forced him to dissolve it, and several years passed before he was able to work again. In the meantime, three sisters married and his father died, leaving his fortune in trust for the children; this prevented Sumner from entering a business requiring the investment of capital. This circumstance had fortunate but unforeseen results.

While working on a volunteer committee to save the Paul Revere house in Boston, Sumner began to develop his broad-visioned plans for historic preservation—plans which resulted by 1910 in the formation of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Before the founding of this society no organized effort had been made in New England, or elsewhere in the United States, on a regional basis, to preserve ancient buildings and other creations of the arts and crafts as a related whole.

Many know something of the phenomenal growth of the Preservation Society under Sumner's inspiring leadership as its corresponding secretary for thirty-seven years. His abilities as an editor are apparent through even a cursory glance at the one hundred and eighteen issues of the society's bulletin, *Old-Time New England*, which he personally guided to press, and for which he wrote many articles in addition to his annual reports. Others realize how foresighted he was in establishing, nearly forty years ago, a picture collection on New England subjects. This collection, close to the heart of the society, now numbers upwards of 600,000 items—and not a small part of its value lies in the pictorial records he made and carefully annotated himself both of houses which have since disappeared and of the progress in specific preservation projects undertaken by the society.

Only those, however, who worked closely with him could know the practically uninterrupted hours he volunteered to the affairs of the society and his well-nigh daily gifts of objects and funds. Sumner continued his interests that the scrapbooks reflected earlier, art, music, and the theatre, generally inviting his many friends to enjoy them with him. He never lost his enthusiasm for football, always holding season tickets for the Harvard games. He loved to catch some weeks at Nantucket and occasionally a few days on the antiquarian road, but generally his waking hours were spent over the society's work, for he personally had to develop techniques of recording its observations and study of old buildings, materials, and objects of all sorts, and to find persons willing and able to further its aims and purposes.

Two signal awards were made to Sumner Appleton during his lifetime: the first, in 1944, when the trustees of public reservations presented him with their award for distinguished service for conservation; and the second, in 1946, when he received the George McAneny medal of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society with the following citation:

> William Sumner Appleton: By birth, instinct, preference and profession a New Englander, you have been a diligent preserver in tangible form of the traditions, the manners and customs and the ancient habitations of New England. To that end you have given the substance of your heart, frame and wallet. You yourself have become a tradition as a fervid, fearless fighter for the faith that is in you. That faith is embodied in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and you have been its modest mentor and mainspring for almost forty years of struggle against inertia, indifference and greed. You have met success and frustration with even mind, but victory for preservation has been so often on your side that historians of the nation revere you.

At its thirtieth annual meeting the society he had founded paid glowing tribute to Sumner: first, by acknowledging that his wisdom and tireless zeal had caused the growth of the society in membership from eighteen incorporators to over two thousand, and in property from a rented half-office to ownership of over forty historic houses and thousands of interesting and valuable antiquities in them and in the society's New England Museum; and second, by naming the auditorium on the ground floor of the Harrison Gray Otis house Appleton Hall. While this hall in the society's headquarters bore his name, it was characteristic of the man that he could see it only as sorely needed additional space for taking care of the mass of material he had gathered for the society's collections, so that it was not until after his death in Lawrence, Massachusetts, on November 24, 1947, that it could be transformed into a real memorial to his wealth of knowledge and valiant service in the fields of antiquarian research and historic preservation.

Gaspar Griswold Bacon

Parkman Dexter Howe

A memorial should, as far as it is possible, recall the man about whom it is written, so that for the moment it seems to make him live again. But to do this for Gaspar Bacon is peculiarly difficult, for his intense vitality was perhaps his most salient characteristic. To recall that is impossible. I can but remind you of it, and trust to your recollections and the affection we felt for him to fill the gaps any account of his life must leave. This vitality was the key to his career. It forged his successes. It impelled him to constant mental and physical activity. It made occasional enemies among his opponents. It endeared him to those who knew him best.

Perhaps most of you will first think of him in connection with politics. A lawyer, he almost immediately took an interest in politics. In 1924 he was elected to the state senate. After two terms he was made president of the senate, and served in that capacity for four years. Then, running for lieutenant governor, he was elected—although a Democrat won the position of governor. At the next election Bacon ran for governor, and in a rather bitter campaign he was defeated by a narrow margin. He did not again run for a public office. But his interest in political matters remained, and as a writer and teacher he continued his contributions to public thought.

It was, however, in his military career that he gave the most distinguished service. Enlisting as a private in the First World War, he received successive promotions to the rank of major. In the Second World War he was commissioned a major in the Air Corps. He served two years in England with the Eighth Air Force, and then was attached to the headquarters of the Third United States Army under General Patton. He was awarded the Croix de Guerre and the Verdun Medal, for outstanding services on D-Day in Northern France, and in the Rhineland. He was usually so reticent and modest about his experiences with the Army that few realized his military distinctions.

A chronological narrative of his life is appropriate, but any such account can serve only as a bare framework to be filled out by the personal recollections of you who knew him. Gaspar Griswold Bacon was born on March 7, 1886, in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, the son of

Robert and Martha W. (Cowdin) Bacon. After graduation from Groton, he entered Harvard with the Class of 1908. He was a prominent member of the class, and president of it during his sophomore year. He was active in football and rowing, and captain of the four-oared crew in his senior year. A year after his graduation from college he entered the Harvard Law School and was graduated in 1912.

On July 16, 1910, he married Priscilla Toland, of Philadelphia, and to this union were born three sons—William Benjamin, Gaspar Griswold, Jr., and Robert. Shortly after leaving Law School, he entered the office of Gaston, Snow and Saltonstall, where he practised until 1916, when he enlisted as a private in Troop B of the Massachusetts National Guard to serve on the Mexican Border. Returning home, he almost immediately went to the First Officers Training Camp at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, and was commissioned a captain of Field Artillery. He served during the First World War with the 81st Division of the United States Army and was elevated to the rank of major before being released at the end of the war.

Gaspar Bacon then returned to his law practice and became increasingly active in Republican politics. But it was not until 1924 that he ran for office, and was elected to the Massachusetts senate. He served for four consecutive terms—the last two as president of the senate. In the autumn of 1932, running ahead of his ticket, he was elected lieutenant governor, despite the Democratic landslide by which Franklin D. Roosevelt was first elected President. In 1934 Bacon ran for governor, but was defeated by a narrow margin. He was elected a trustee of Boston University in 1927, and served as a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University from 1933 to 1939. In 1939 he accepted a professorship in American Constitutional Government at Boston University.

At the outbreak of World War II, he became chairman in New England of the Allied Relief Fund, and in December, 1940, co-chairman of the British War Relief Fund. On March 5, 1942, Bacon was commissioned major in the Air Corps, and on May 12, 1942, was sent overseas. In May, 1944, he was assigned to the Third United States Army Headquarters in England. Landing in Normandy on D-Day, he served with distinction in the campaigns of Normandy, Northern France, and the Rhineland, under Lieutenant-General George S. Patton, Jr. Awarded the Croix de Guerre and the Verdun Medal by

General Alphonse Juin, he returned to the United States June 13, 1945. He was honorably discharged with the rank of colonel August 30, 1945, after three and a half years of active service.

After serving as guest professor of International Relations at the University of North Carolina in the spring of 1947, Bacon returned to Boston University in September, 1947, as Professor of World Politics and Latin-American Relations. On Christmas Day, 1947, he died at Dedham, Massachusetts. In the following February, President Vincent Auriol awarded to Gaspar G. Bacon, posthumously, the Medal of *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur*.

We recall him to do him honor.

William Augustus Jeffries

Philip Putnam Chase

William Augustus Jeffries was a Member of this Society from October 14, 1937, until his death on February 20, 1948.

He was born in Boston on February 13, 1856, the son of John and Anna Lloyd (Greene) Jeffries. He grew up in Boston and prepared for college at Noble's Classical School, which was then a well-known private day school, and entered Harvard College at the age of fifteen. His school and college years were not marked by any notable scholastic or athletic achievements. After graduation, in 1875, he spent one year at the Harvard Law School, and then entered his father's real-estate firm, which had an important place in Boston in handling high-class mortgages. In this work the son is reported to have won "such a reputation for sound judgment in regard to investments that trusteeships came to him until he had little time for other affairs."[1]

From the several reports of the secretary of the Class of 1875, up through 1925, Jeffries's autobiographical contributions confirm the expressed opinion of his close friends that he was modest and reticent as to his own affairs. The only items which he adds through those years to the bare statements of his address and occupation concern his election to the Somerset Club and his marriage in 1893 to Clémence Eustis, at LaGrange, Illinois. She was the daughter of Alexander Brooks Eustis and Aurora (Grelaud) Eustis. Subsequently he records successive births of his own children and of eight grandchildren. He had one son, John Amory, born December 27, 1893, and a daughter, Clémence d'Espaigne, in 1898.

From his close and lifelong friend, Charles Foster Batchelder, we see a different side of this man.[2] It seems that early in life he developed an abiding interest in ornithology. This interest he shared with his younger brother, John, in their field studies and rambles near their summer home in Swampscott, Massachusetts.

Three years after his graduation from college he became a member of the Nuttall Ornithological Club, which had only recently been organized. This club and his field trips for birds absorbed much of his spare time and interest during the rest of his life. For fifty years he was an officer of the club, succeeding his brother for several years as vice-president, and, when a fund for publication was established, he became chairman of the trustees to administer it.[3]

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[1] Memoir by Charles Foster Batchelder in *The Auk,* LXV (July, 1948), 490-491.

[2] *Ibid.*

In 1879 his field work took him, with his brother, to New Brunswick, then little known to Bostonians, in 1883 to southern California, and in 1888 in the mountains of North Carolina. Their collection of bird skins was notable, and in later years was distributed by them to the Smithsonian Institution, to Harvard, and to the Boston Society of Natural History, each institution receiving one or more of the half-dozen specimens said to have been unique. As of some fifteen years ago, Mr. Jeffries had been for fifty years treasurer of the Boston Society of Natural History, now absorbed by the very active Museum of Science.

William Augustus Jeffries will be remembered not as a member of any of the many clubs to which he belonged, and of some of which he was a founder, not even of his beloved Nuttall Club, nor as one active in the real-estate field, but rather, in the minds of his friends, he will be recalled as a highly respected gentleman of fine bearing, great kindliness, and a rare good judgment in all matters in which he was called upon to take a part.

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[3] The publications of the Nuttall Club are now contained in the magazine known as *The Auk.*

Walter Harrington Kilham

ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS

THIS is a short review of a happy and successful life. We could also call it a busy one and, above all, a friendly one.

Walter Kilham, architect, was born in Beverly, August 30, 1868. His father was Charles H. Kilham, and his mother, Marie F. Ober. He went to school in the pleasant town of his birth and in Salem, its neighbor.[1] You might say that he cut his teeth on the architecture of Essex County.

At any rate he decided to become an architect, went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and was graduated from there with the Class of 1889. He served as perpetual secretary of that Class for the rest of his life.

And he remained at Tech—for a few years as an instructor in architecture. By that time he was skilled enough to compete for the Rotch Travelling Scholarship award, which he won in 1893. That meant, in those days, two years of travel in Europe (England, Italy, and Paris, above all), seeing, measuring, and sketching some of its architecture. Among his *envois* was a very careful study of Haddon Hall.

Many past holders of this famous scholarship have made their mark in their profession. Henry Bacon, the sixth holder, was the creator of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Harold V. B. Magonigle, the eleventh holder, was a wizard at winning national architectural competitions. Ralph T. Walker, the thirty-third holder, became president of the American Institute of Architects. Wallace K. Harrison, thirty-seventh holder, is the chief architect for the United Nations group in New York. Louis Skidmore, the forty-first holder, has many huge structures to his credit. Massachusetts has claimed all the above as her sons. Also Blackall, Mead, Newton, Pennell, Newhall, Clapp, Hirons, Faelton, Lord, Larsen, and many others are well known as successful practitioners, most of them here in Boston.

Walter Kilham, the tenth holder, was one of this distinguished brotherhood. There have been seventy in all. Charles D. Maginnis has truly said of "the Rotch," that "altho' founded for those living, studying or working in Massachusetts, its influence has been felt throughout the nation."[2] Ralph Adams Cram wrote highly approving this scholarship, asserting that "creative architecture should be stimulated by the work of the past." William Emerson said it was "an enriching experience."

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[1] *Who's Who in Massachusetts* (1941).

In Roger Greeley's short but engaging memoir of his partner, Kilham, he writes: "He was an artist. He had found an artist wife—an American wife—in Paris, and four of their six children came to be artists.[3] His own proficiency in landscape water-colors was a constant joy, not only to himself, but to many who found delight in the pictures themselves."[4] In fact, he became president of the Business Men's Art Club and poured out a constant stream of crisp water-colors. He enjoyed contact with these men. He also became interested in a society for the abolition of the death penalty. When, one time, the members were looking for some one to hook for president, they nominated Kilham. He smiled and asked if he could be excused on account of his last name.[5]

So, married and back in Boston, he spent three fruitful years as draughtsman and designer in the office of Winslow and Wetherall, and then, with this fine background of training, started out for himself. He was in his thirtieth year.

Soon, with James C. Hopkins as partner, the new firm was on its way. His later associate, Roger Greeley, remarks of his senior partner, "He continued active practice in Boston until the afternoon before his death in September, 1948, a period of half a century. His career was by no means confined within the walls of his profession. There was never a time when he was not active in the affairs of the community."[6]

Yet, within ten years, *The American Architect*, in one number, was devoting sixteen full pages of illustrations to the work of Kilham and Hopkins.[7]

I have had the privilege of looking over the files of this well-known firm. A rough estimate was given me of three thousand jobs in the space of fifty-five years—some large, some small, of course. That means an incredible lot of work for all hands. Some eighty fine houses, in all parts of New England, and in those prosperous days when fine houses were built, many Secondary Schools,[8] an impressive list of High Schools,[9] work at the Colleges,[10] town Halls,[11] banks,[12] and libraries.[13]

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[2] Clarence H. Blackall, *A History of the Rotch Travelling Scholarship, 1833–1938*, with introductory remarks by Messrs. Maginnis, Cram and Emerson.

[3] He married Jane Houston, of San Francisco, California, on June 17, 1896. Their six children were Jeanette, Teresa, Walter H., Jr., Peter, Aline, and Lawrence.

[4] *Bulletin* of the Boston Society of Architects.

[5] Further yarn by Greeley.

[6] *Bulletin* of the Boston Society of Architects.

[7] *The American Architect* (March 9, 1910).

After the great fire that destroyed almost the whole of Chelsea, this one firm was employed to replace *all* the schools.

One little building that shows how these skillful architects could handle small jobs as well as big ones with taste and appropriateness is the charming little Unitarian Church at Marblehead. I am told it was a favorite of Kilham's also.

From time to time Kilham published articles of a professional nature which are a pleasure to read. He was always fair, full of good sense, and amusing. "The Planning of the Low Cost House" may have led, a year or two later, to his firm's being selected, in 1918, for a big war housing project for ship workers at Atlantic Heights, near Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. It was a very creditable piece of work, one of the best of its kind built in World War I.

His "Recollections of the Boston Society of Architects," written in the last year of his life, is as delightful and kindly as anything he ever wrote.[14] By that time he had been made historiographer of that society, as well as a fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

Between times, he had published a book on small public libraries, in collaboration with Robert Coit.[15] He built many such libraries all through our countryside, and they are a delight to behold. The nearest one is at Faneuil.

He also found time to produce a handsome book on the early Spanish architecture in Mexico, very fully illustrated and annotated.[16] It must have involved him in much labor and thought, and some hard traveling, to boot.

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[8] The list includes: Swampscott, Taunton, Topsfield, Waltham, Watertown, Winchester, and the Proctor, Exeter, and Governor Dummer Academies.

[9] Brookline, Belfast, Maine, Concord, Dedham, Haverhill, Holyoke, Wilton, New Hampshire, Nantucket, Pittsfield, Salem, Canton, Waltham, and Woburn, as well as the High School of Commerce in Boston.

[10] Radcliffe, Bowdoin, and Boston University.

[11] Dover, Lexington, Tewksbury, Newfield, and Waltham.

[12] Beverly, Chelsea, Stockbridge, Amesbury, Salem, and Walpole.

[13] Brookline, Medford, Natick, Winchester, Hovey Memorial at Waltham, and Milford, New Hampshire.

[14] *Bulletin* of the Boston Society of Architects (January, 1948).

[15] *The Smaller Public Library* (1932).

[16] *Mexican Architecture of the Vice-Regal Period* (New York, 1927).

But his literary and historical *magnum opus,* at least to his admiring fellow architects, was his *Boston After Bulfinch.* It came out in 1946. It was based on a talk he had given before the Brookline Thursday Club. His fellow members, to their great credit, also had recognized that there was something new and worth while. They insisted on its publication.[17]

Frankly, we Bostonians of the T square hadn't given much thought to the producers of our local nineteenth-century structures and our early city planning.[18] We may have known the names of the architects, say, of the old Providence Depot and the new Public Library, but that was about all.

We would have been stumped to name the designer of Park Street Church with its lovely spire, St. Paul's near by on Tremont Street, or some of the finer houses along Beacon Street leading down to Charles Street to what as boys we called the "Nigger Church." In those days the office of Kilham and Hopkins was, most appropriately, in the old Ticknor House at the head of Park Street.

Who built these Boston buildings and when?[19]

And so *Boston After Bulfinch* went, in the text and with many illustrations, from the Greek Revival, through what Kilham charitably called American Gothic and the Plain American, leading on to a French Influence, the Victorian, and the Romanesque, in turn; and so to a Renaissance Revival and the modern Steel Frame.

Here was a book that awakened in us a new interest in a rather discredited century of architectural meandering. Writing in all fairness, the author keenly perceived what was good and what was absurd, and enjoyed telling us all about it—dates, styles, architects, builders, materials—his dry wit penetrating it all. He made it come alive again.

The next year, 1947, Kilham was made a member of this Society, though he did not live long to enjoy it. But the recognition must have pleased him greatly.

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[17] Harvard University Press.

[18] Creation of the South End and the Back Bay.

[19] Among others cited are: Asher Benjamin (1773–1845), Peter Banner (flourished 1805–1809), Alexander Parris (1780–1852), Solomon Willard (1783–1861), Ammi B. Young (1798–1874), and Isaiah Rogers (1800–1869).

Meetings

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1947

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 9, 1947, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From May Ashley, of Greenfield, several manuscript receipts and deeds relating to the Payson family.

From the Clock Club of Boston, the records and publications of the Club (1934–1940).

From Clara W. Crane, of Bridgewater, a collection of manuscript maps of Old Bridgewater, drawn by Joshua E. Crane.

From the estate of Mrs. Edward Cummings, of Cambridge, the original manuscript of Robert Haswell's log of the first voyage of the *Columbia*. This log was printed in Volume 79 of the Society's *Collections*.

From the estate of Allen French, William Windham, *A Plan of Discipline for the Use of the Norfolk Militia* (Second edition: [London], 1768). The protective case for this volume was given by Mrs. French.

From Mrs. Albion Dyer Wilde, of Canton, a collection of cabinet photographs of Boston schoolmasters.

By purchase: a hitherto unrecorded broadside, *Toasts for the Entertainment on Bunker's Hill, 17th June* [Boston? 1786]; three issues of a short-lived Boston newspaper, *The Times: or the Evening Entertainer* for October 11, 14, and 16, 1794; a possibly unique broadside proclamation given at Boston by William Dummer on July 4, 1728, ordering the arrest of Henry Phillips for the murder of Benjamin Woodbridge in the first fatal duel fought on Boston Common.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from WALTER HARRINGTON KILHAM, of Boston, and AUSTIN WAKEMAN SCOTT, of Cambridge, accepting Resident Membership.

The following tribute to ALLYN BAILEY FORBES was presented by the Director:

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES

IN the untimely death on January 21, 1947, of ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, its Director for the past seven years, the Massachusetts Historical Society has lost an able executive, a discriminating scholar, and a good friend.

Mr. Forbes was born at Taunton on November 2, 1897, and was graduated from Amherst College in 1919. He taught at Deerfield Academy for five years and then, after obtaining his degree as Master of Arts at Harvard in 1927, was a Tutor in History there for three years.

He first served this Society as Acting Editor in 1931–1932, when he saw *Proceedings*, LXIV, and *House Journals*, XIII, through the press. Appointed Librarian in September, 1934, upon the resignation of Julius Herbert Tuttle, he at once began that revision and extension of our catalogue of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts which is still under way. He was untiring at making acquisitions, both old and new, available to students.

In January, 1940, when he became the first Director of the Society, an office which combined the exacting duties of both Librarian and Editor, he immediately undertook the reorganization of the staff. Thereafter, during his all too brief tenure, he edited no fewer than eleven volumes of our publications: *Proceedings*, LXV–LXVII (1940–1945); *Winthrop Papers*, III–V (1943–1947); *House Journals*, XVII–XXI (1940–1946); and assisted in the publication of a twelfth: *Collections*, LXXIX: *Voyages of the* Columbia (1941)—all this besides issuing seventy-six numbers of the second series of Photostat Americana (1939–1942).

Meanwhile, as Editor of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (1931–1946), Mr. Forbes prepared, or supervised the publication of, eight volumes of *Transactions* and *Collections*. Moreover, as a member of the Board of the *New England Quarterly* (1933–1947), he not only shared the burden of reading contributions, but also compiled "A Bibliography of New England" for that magazine for eighteen years (1930–1947).

To his loyal association with his colleagues and his devotion to his friends, Mr. Forbes added countless deeds of generosity and kindness, of which those who knew him best were often the last to learn.

STEWART MITCHELL

The chair announced the death on July 23, 1947, of LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, a Resident Member since November 13, 1919; and on September 24, 1947, of ANDREW CUNNINGHAM MCLAUGHLIN, a Corresponding Member since March 8, 1906.

The Society elected Frederic Winthrop, of Hamilton, to Resident Membership.

Dr. HENRY ROUSE VIETS read a paper entitled "Benjamin Waterhouse on Luigi Cornaro's *Long and Healthful Life*."[1]

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH read the

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[1] Printed in this volume, 3–55.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

SINCE the Annual Meeting of October, 1946, the Council of the Society has had to meet several emergencies. The first, and major, misfortune was the sudden and untimely death on January 21, 1947, of Allyn Bailey Forbes, Librarian of the Society since 1934, and Director from 1940 for a period of seven years. On June 30, Miss Eleanor Bates, the Editorial Assistant for the past seven years, submitted her resignation in order to take advantage of an opportunity which came her way to better herself, both as to salary and the nature of her work. Miss Bates, who was the editorial right arm of Mr. Forbes, has become managing editor of an office dealing with children's literature here in Boston—a field of unusual interest to her. On July 23, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, Member of the Society and Secretary of the Committee of Publication for seventeen years, died suddenly in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, leaving the new Director to complete the work on his *Winthrop Family in America*, which is being issued under the imprint of this Society in 1947. On September 15, William Annal, superintendent of the building of the Society, suddenly became ill and had to give up his position in circumstances which make his return to the service of the Society impossible. Thus, the Council has had to provide for three new members of the staff within the short period of nine months.

Facts and figures as to accessions to the Library of the Society are mildly encouraging. During the past year the Society has been given 138 books, 153 pamphlets, 487 periodicals, 76 broadsides, 6 valuable newspapers, and 4 maps. Within the year, the Society has purchased 33 volumes, 14 pamphlets, 111 periodicals, and 1 broadside. Those Members who take any interest in the Society will do well to remember that our total annual income for the purchase of printed matter—and this from six funds—amounts to only $800 a year. Our most valuable acquisition in manuscripts was the Haswell Log, published in *Voyages of the* Columbia, which came to us by the will of Mrs. Edward Cummings, who died on January 15, 1947. Our total annual income available for the purchase of manuscripts—and this from two funds—is $543.

Attendance at meetings of the Society has jogged along, as usual, at about the same rate. The average attendance at eight meetings—

October, 1946, to May, 1947—was 29. The largest attendance at any meeting for the past year was 33. Our record in this respect is revealing. In April, 1943, 43 Members turned out in honor of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. In January, 1936, 45 Members turned up for the reception and luncheon which the late President Endicott gave for the Society. In October, 1923, 46 Members paid their respects to the late Charles W. Eliot, in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of his election to this Society. President Charles Francis Adams died in the spring of 1915. In April of that year, 56 Members went to the First Church in Boston to hear the address in memory of Mr. Adams which was delivered by Henry Cabot Lodge.

During the past year the Society has published the fifth volume of the *Winthrop Papers* and the twenty-second volume of the *Journal of the House of Representatives.* In 1948, of course, the twenty-third volume of the *House Journals* will appear, in accordance with our contract with the Commonwealth. The next publication will be the new edition of the *By-Laws,* after an interval of thirty years. This volume is much more than might be inferred from its title. It is really an historical handbook of the Society, and will contain not only the laws by which we govern ourselves, but a complete list of Members and Officers since 1791, and a concise description of our various endowments. The Director is now preparing his historical sketch of the Society from 1791 to 1947.

The expenses of the sixth volume of *Winthrop Papers,* due in 1948, have already been provided for by the generosity of Robert Winthrop, of New York, and of Frederic Winthrop, of Hamilton, Corresponding and Resident Members of this Society, and sons of the late Frederic Winthrop, a Resident Member of this Society from 1908 to 1932. The latest volume of *Proceedings,* Number 67, covering the meetings from October, 1941, to May, 1944, appeared in November, 1945. The edition of four hundred copies of that Volume 67 cost $6,000. Volume 68 of the *Proceedings,* now under way, will include the meetings from October, 1944, to May, 1947. In the meantime, the cost of printing is rising steadily, and not slowly, and returns from our investments are *not* rising in proportion. About a year from now the bill for this forthcoming Volume 68 of the *Proceedings* will have to be paid. For part of this bill, at least, the Council must call for donations from Members of this Society. The Treasurer can draw money out of a hat only after the hat has been passed.

The Council has given authority to a Committee of this Society to dispose, by sale, of the two photostat machines in the basement of the building. Necessary photostating will continue to be done, as now, in the Library of Harvard University. The Council has also ordered the sale of certain more or less valuable machines for the binding of books, which machinery has stood unused, in the basement, since the closing down of the bindery some thirty years ago. The days of our being able to afford the services of a photographer or a binder are definitely past.

The President of the Society, with the consent of the Council, directed that a survey be made of our building, by an expert contractor, with a view to undertaking certain necessary painting and repairs, at once. This survey was made on Monday, October 6, 1947. The Director has asked the contractor to report promptly to the President and to the Chairman of the House Committee. Beyond the question of painting and repair, the difficult matter of the overcrowding of the building must be attended to. Worthington C. Ford called attention to this almost desperate situation in 1916—all of thirty-one years ago. Since then, the congestion on our shelves has been relieved a little by the sale of duplicates, and by the setting up on the New England Deposit Library, to which this Society is a contributing member. But the Manuscript Room, on the third floor, must be cleared of books, if we are to house recent and future accessions of manuscripts properly —and honestly—according to our understanding with the donors of these manuscripts. Bookcases for these books, which do not belong in the Manuscript Room, must be built promptly, in Ellis Hall on the first floor, in the hall on the third floor, and in the great room in the basement from which the photostat machines are going to be removed.

In view of the rising cost of living and the necessity of raising wages and salaries, it is a surprising fact that the total annual outlay of this Society for members of its staff is actually less now, in 1947, than it was in 1929, all of eighteen years ago. This unusual combination of circumstances cannot continue for ever. At the present moment, moreover, the Society is paying only $840 a year for one pension, Horace

C. Fuller having died in February, 1947. But, as of October, 1947, the grand total of four pensions paid during eighteen years to four former members of the staff came to $76,834.50, a sum which is colossal in comparison with the income of this Society. A committee of the Council has prepared a pension plan to provide for such contingencies in the future, but, owing to sudden resignations from and replacements in the staff, the Director has not been able to prepare an adequate report on this plan as yet.

During the past year the Society has lost four Members by death—three Resident and one Corresponding: Wilbur Cortez Abbott, of Cambridge, a Resident Member since 1924, died in Boston on February 3, 1947; Allyn Bailey Forbes, of Cambridge, a Resident Member since 1934, died in Cambridge on January 21, 1947; Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Newton, a Resident Member since 1919, died in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, on July 23, 1947; and Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, a Corresponding Member since 1906, died in Chicago on September 24, 1947.

Chauncey Cushing Nash
For the Council

Mr. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., read the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

I HEREBY submit my report for the Society for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947.

	1945–1946	*1946–1947*
Gross Income from Securities	$39,495.22	$42,735.78
Expenses	26,555.69	31,427.09
Deficit	494.59	5,214.26

The increase in Income from Securities can be tabulated for ease in comparison as follows:

	1945–1946	*1946–1947*
Book Value of Bonds	$316,596.75	$395,975.05
Bond Interest	9,177.53	9,887.01
Investment Ratio	31.72%	40.54%
Book Value of Stocks	$681,402.79	$580,698.40
Dividends	30,289.50	32,979.75
Investment Ratio	68.28%	59.46%

The concentration of funds invested in bonds of the U. S. Treasury is reflected in the low bond yield but this is more than compensated for by the increased returns from Common Stocks.

Although the Income from Securities for the year ending June 30, 1947, shows a gratifying increase over the prior year of $3,240.56, expenses for the same period have increased as well, understandably enough in view of rising prices, salaries, etc., in the amount of $4,871.40 as tabulated below:

	1945–1946	*1946–1947*
Building	$ 3,066.58	$ 3,926.87
Library	1,478.32	2,099.30
Bindery	23.21	.80
Administration	2,455.41	2,659.24
Meetings and Membership	198.82	259.21
Salaries	19,333.35	22,481.67
	$26,555.69	$31,427.09

However, the real cause of the very noticeable increase in the current year's deficit over that of the preceding year is the considerable falling off of contributions. Last year's gifts amounted to $4,040.40 as compared with $1,033.25 this year, or a drop of $3,007.15. No concentrated drive for contributions was made this last spring, which the year before brought in $3,270. Although the Society has funds the principal of which is unrestricted in the aggregate of $124,568.05, it cannot operate indefinitely at a deficit. The two new funds received during this year, namely, George E. Cabot of $10,000.00, and Winslow Warren Memorial of $2,500.00, are both restricted as to principal and unrestricted as to income. The Society does have sufficient income to cover its expenditures, but the restricted funds siphon off a large portion each year, thereby causing an annual deficit with a corresponding shrinking of the unrestricted funds. The deficit for the year was charged to the Adams Fund in accordance with the vote of the Council in 1944.

The investment changes (Schedule 1-A of the auditor's report) during the year are rather extensive and resulted in a loss of $19,690.18 (Schedule 6). Schedule 1, presenting the details of investments, shows the percentages of each classification to the whole. The comparison of Book Value to Market Value is as follows:

	Book Value	*Market Value*	*%*
Bonds	$395,975.05	$ 392,065.00	40.54
Preferred Stocks	5,781.25	8,512.50	.59
Common Stocks	574,917.15	625,640.01	58.87
	$976,673.45	$1,026,217.51	100.00

The books of the Society are being brought up to June 30, 1947, in agreement with the report, by writing a summary of the year's transactions as reported by the State Street Trust Company.

I should like to bring to the Members' attention the detailed report of income and principal transactions rendered quarterly by the State Street Trust Company. This is the only existing record of the cash transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It has been made up from International Business Machine punch cards which upon completion of the current quarter's report are destroyed. Since this is the only record of original entry, it is suggested that a duplicate be made and forwarded to the office of the auditor. No appreciable amount of additional work is involved since the punched cards are merely fed through the tabulating machine a second time and the machine automatically prints the report. This duplicate would not only insure against possible loss or misplacement of the original, but also would expedite the compiling of the final report for the year, and this I shall order unless there is an objection on the part of the Members.

In studying the figures I cannot see how it is possible to live within our income unless there are voluntary contributions, and more so next year on account of the possible increase in cost of operation both from salaries and maintenance. I feel that we cannot with safety increase our income by changing our investments. If it had not been for the increased cost of operation, the greater part of which was due to necessary increases in salaries, the Society would have shown a slight deficit of $342.86. Parts of the building are in shocking condition and there will have to be money spent on repairs.

AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.
Treasurer

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW

Vice-Presidents
MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Cabinet-Keeper
HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Members-at-Large of the Council
1947–1950
JOHN ADAMS
CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND

November Meeting, 1947

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 13, 1947, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the Harvard University Archives, two letters written by Francis Parkman (1788–1852) to Harm Jan Huidekoper, dated June 14, 1844, and December 28, 1849.

From Louise Murray, of Norwalk, Connecticut, a collection of Porter family letters, addressed mainly to the Reverend Huntington Porter (1755–1844).

From Edward B. Richardson, of Brookline, a number of printed billheads used by Boston tradesmen in 1817.

From George G. Wolkins, photostat copies of the records of the Proprietors of the School in the Westerly End of Roxbury, 1740–1820.

By purchase: several letters and manuscripts relating to Charles Frost, 1748–1755; a broadside, *Boston, February 3, 1745* [*1746*], concerning the raising of a regiment for Cape Breton, signed in manuscript by Governor William Shirley.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from FREDERIC WINTHROP, of Hamilton, accepting Resident Membership.

The chair announced the death on October 29, 1947, of HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE, of Brookline, a Resident Member since December 10, 1936.

The Society elected Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Beverly, to Resident Membership; and Frederick Maurice Powicke, of Oxford, and Arnold Joseph Toynbee, of London, to Honorary Membership.

It was *voted* that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

By-Laws: ROGER WOLCOTT, *Chairman*; FRANK W. GRINNELL and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Finance: ALBERT F. BIGELOW, *Chairman ex officio*; RALPH LOWELL and JAMES M. HUNNEWELL.

House: CARLETON R. RICHMOND, *Chairman*; PALFREY PERKINS and JOHN ADAMS.

Library: CHARLES E. GOODSPEED, *Chairman*; WALTER M. WHITEHILL and LEE MAX FRIEDMAN.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman*; ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., and WILLIAM A. JACKSON.

Publication: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; SAMUEL E. MORISON, PERRY MILLER, WALTER M. WHITEHILL, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Mr. FREDERIC HAINES CURTISS read a paper entitled "A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1909,"[2] an unpublished address delivered by Thomas Nelson Page, in Washington, in 1909.

After remarks by various Members, the Honorable W. CAMERON FORBES presented to the Society five volumes of a journal, diaries, and correspondence kept by him between the years 1914 and 1946. This gift, like that of 1930, is conditional upon these volumes' being held confidential, and not available to the public or for publication until ten years after the death of the donor, and at least twenty-five years from the date of the gift. Mr. Grinnell read a passage from these diaries, covering an interview of Governor Forbes and Mr. Benjamin Strong (1872–1928), Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York City, with Lord Kitchener, in London, on March 24, 1916, not long before the loss of Kitchener on H.M.S. *Hampshire* on June 5–6, 1916.

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[2] Printed in this volume, 308–330.

December Meeting, 1947

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 11, 1947, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. GRINNELL, Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL was chosen Recording Secretary pro tempore.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Frederic H. Curtiss, a manuscript of a court case at Edgartown in 1717, involving the Indians, Sassachumit and Jacob Seeknout, and two rare tokens issued by the Bank of England in 1811 and 1813.

From Ellery Sedgwick, a large collection of books and manuscripts to be added to the Sedgwick Papers, now owned by the Society.

From the Stockbridge Library Association, eight Stockbridge imprints.

From Robert Winthrop, of New York City, a volume of miscellaneous Massachusetts newspapers (1774–1777), a manuscript volume of a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of St. Mark, and other early printed books from the Winthrop library.

By purchase: a broadside, *The following is a copy of the Memorial presented by the Officers of this State to Congress* [Boston? 1789?].

The Director presented his monthly report and read an exchange of letters on February 4, 1924, between the second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and the late Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE, the original of the first letter and a draft of the second having been found in the process of sorting and arranging the Lodge Papers now on deposit in the Society. These letters made it evident that the reason why Senator LODGE did not attend the funeral of WOODROW WILSON was because Mrs. Wilson asked him not to do so.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter of acceptance of Resident Membership from Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Beverly, and read two paragraphs of that letter of acceptance.

The chair announced the death on November 24, 1947, of William Sumner Appleton, a Resident Member since February 8, 1917; and on November 12, 1947, in New York City, of John Bassett Moore, the Senior Corresponding Member of the Society, who was elected on May 10, 1900.

The chair reported briefly on the action of the Council in regard to undertaking necessary repairs to the building of the Society, stating that Horn Brothers, of Boston, had made a survey of the building on November 18 and that on December 2 he and the Treasurer, in company with the Chairman of the House Committee, Mr. Adams, and the Library Committee, had visited all parts of the building, together with Mr. Horn and his assistant, Mr. Nicholson, and the Director and the Librarian. On December 8, Horn Brothers submitted a revised estimate of those repairs which could no longer be postponed, and in accordance with this revised estimate the Council voted to appropriate $10,500.00 from unrestricted capital funds with the intention of directing Horn Brothers to proceed with the work which the Council had approved.

Mr. Lee Max Friedman read a paper entitled "Aaron Lopez and Market Conditions in Boston During the Last Years of the Revolution."

The Reverend Samuel A. Eliot presented to the Society copies of letters which were exchanged between George Ticknor and Prince John of Saxony between 1837 and 1871, stating that when these copies had been sent to his father it had been the intention of the late President Eliot to have them published but that the proposal to bring them out in book form had never materialized. A few of the letters, Mr. Eliot observed, had appeared in *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor* (1877).

After remarks from various Members, Mr. Loring submitted a question from R. Clipston Sturgis who, he said, was eager to learn just when the American rules of the road had changed from the left hand to the right.

January Meeting, 1948

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 8, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Edward L. Pierce, of Princeton, New Jersey, a small collection of Pierce family papers for the period 1843–1851, containing letters written by Edward L. Pierce (1829–1897), a former Member of this Society, and Henry L. Pierce (1825–1896), a mayor of Boston and a member of Congress.

From Howard Whitcomb, Frederick W. Wead, and Mrs. Alden H. Clark, nee Mary S. Whitcomb, the Whitcomb Papers (1705–1911). The Director read a section from the journal of Samuel Whitcomb, a Boston bookseller, narrating his visit to Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, in 1824.

From Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Ellery Sedgwick, and Stewart Mitchell, an offset edition of the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (1881–1900), in fifty-eight volumes.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE, of London, and FREDERICK MAURICE POWICKE, of Oxford, accepting their election to Honorary Membership.

The chair announced the death of GASPAR GRISWOLD BACON, of Dedham, on December 25, 1947, a Resident Member of the Society since June 8, 1933.

Mr. WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER read a paper entitled "Benjamin Franklin and My Great-Great-Great-Grandmother."

February Meeting, 1948

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 12, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. GRINNELL, Mr. WHITEHILL was chosen Recording Secretary pro tempore.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Albert Francis Bigelow, the silhouette portraits of Alpheus Bigelow, Elijah Bigelow, Eunice Bigelow, and Anna Hagar.

From Miss Mary Orne Bowditch, of Boston, the bronze casts of the life mask and hands of Abraham Lincoln, made in Chicago and Springfield in 1860. In June, 1919, her uncle, Charles Pickering Bowditch, brother of her father, Alfred Bowditch, deposited these casts in the Society as a loan from her. Today, Miss Bowditch, at the suggestion of her brother-in-law, Augustus P. Loring, Jr., is making a gift to the Society of this deposit in honor of the one hundred and thirty-ninth anniversary of Lincoln's birth. The molds for these casts were made in 1860 by Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor who afterwards made a bust and two full-length statues of Lincoln. These casts came into the possession of Truman H. Bartlett, who gave them to Alfred Bowditch, from whom Miss Bowditch inherited them.

From Lammot du Pont Copeland, of Wilmington, Delaware, *Rules and Regulations for the Government of the True Fire Society instituted at Boston, March 1, 1754* (Boston, 1807).

By purchase: a small collection of manuscripts relating to Isaac Barker and other inhabitants of Plymouth County, 1665–1726.

Mr. C. E. Whitamore, H.M. Consul General in Boston, then officially presented, on behalf of the British Admiralty, to the President and the Society, sixteen canceled naval charts of the coasts of Massachusetts and Maine, prepared by British engineers and surveyors about one hundred and eighty years ago, these being part of a collection of two hundred charts which comprised an atlas known as the *Atlantic Neptune*.

After President Bigelow had accepted these plates on behalf of the Society, Mr. Jackson, of the Houghton Library, Harvard College, placed on exhibition the Harvard College copy of the *Atlantic Neptune* and certain additional illustrative material which he had brought from Cambridge.

The Society elected Parkman Dexter Howe, of Needham, and Benjamin Joy, of Boston, to Resident Membership; Stephen Hyatt Pelham Pell, of Fort Ticonderoga, New York, and James Garfield Randall, of Urbana, Illinois, to Corresponding Membership; and Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, of São Paulo, Brazil, and Vicente Lecuna, of Caracas, Venezuela, to Honorary Membership.

The Society *voted* the following changes in the By-Laws:

In Chapter I, *Article* 6, insert the words—or Associate—after the word—Resident—, so that the Article shall read—No entrance fee or annual payment shall be required of Corresponding or Honorary Members; nor of Resident or Associate Members unless by special vote of the Society.

Amend Chapter II, *Article* 1, by striking out the words—three o'clock in the afternoon—and inserting the words—such hour as shall be designated by the Council—, so that the phrase shall read—and there shall be a regular meeting on the second Thursday of every month, except June, July, August, and September, at such time as shall be designated by the Council,—.

Amend Chapter II, *Article* 1, by inserting in the second sentence thereof after the word—held—the words—on some other day or—, so that the sentence shall read as follows—But the Council may, at its discretion, cause any regular meeting to be postponed or omitted, or to be held on some other day, or in some other place.

Amend Chapter XI, *Article* 7, by striking out said Article and inserting the following:—*Article* 7. It shall make an Annual Report to the Society.—.

Amend Chapter XII, *Article* 1, by striking out the words—At the regular meeting of the Society in May—and inserting the words—After the Annual Meeting of the Society—, so that the phrase shall read—After the Annual Meeting of the Society a Committee of Publication shall be appointed—.

Mr. Stewart Mitchell read a paper entitled "The Labour Landslide, July 5–19, 1945,"[3] explaining the growth and decay of representative government in the United Kingdom, 1918–1945.

March Meeting, 1948

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 11, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President Bigelow in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From The American Antiquarian Society, a broadside, *Newbury-port, October 28, 1789,* giving the order of procession of the inhabitants for the reception of Washington.

From Miss Louisa F. Cobb, of Barnstable, a collection of letters (1841–1882), from Henry Whitney Bellows (1814–1882) to Orville Dewey (1794–1882).

From Mrs. Fred Bates Lund, of Newton Centre, a rare broadside, *The Death of Washington: Or, Columbia in Mourning for her Son* [n.p., 1799?].

By purchase: a broadside, *In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, December 5, 1774* [Boston, 1774], approving the proceedings of the Continental Congress.

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[3] Printed in this volume, 368–391.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, of Needham, and BENJAMIN JOY, of Boston, accepting their election to Honorary Membership; and from STEPHEN HYATT PELHAM PELL, of Fort Ticonderoga, New York, and JAMES GARFIELD RANDALL, of Urbana, Illinois, to Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death on February 20, 1948, of WILLIAM AUGUSTUS JEFFRIES, a Resident Member of the Society since October 14, 1937.

The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE read a paper entitled "The Significance and Influence of the Cambridge Platform of 1648."[4]

After remarks by various Members, the Reverend SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT announced that the three-hundredth anniversary of the Cambridge Platform would be celebrated in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 27, 1948.

April Meeting, 1948

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 8, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the Adams Manuscript Trust: photostats of the correspondence of John Adams, Abigail Adams, and John Quincy Adams with Thomas Jefferson, from the film now in the possession of the Library of Congress; a microfilm of the letters written by Benjamin Rush to John Adams, in the Adams Manuscripts, made by the American Philosophical Society; a bound typewritten copy of extracts from the diaries of John Quincy Adams (A.B. 1787) and his son Charles Francis Adams (A.B. 1825) relating to Harvard College from 1786 to 1880, selected and transcribed by Henry Adams (A.B. 1898) and William G. Roelker (A.B. 1909).

From Mrs. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Brookline, a selection of books from the library of her late husband.

From the New Hampshire Historical Society, a large collection of school books printed in Massachusetts.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from

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[4] Printed in this volume, 81–101.

Vicente Lecuna, of Caracas, Venezuela, accepting his election to Honorary Membership.

Mr. Walter M. Whitehill read a paper entitled "John Brown of Osawatomie in Boston, 1857."[5]

Mr. F. Lauriston Bullard spoke briefly on the character of John Brown, pointing out that he was, in fact, a murderer at the time he visited Boston.

The Director read two letters which passed between Rudyard Kipling and Henry Cabot Lodge in March, 1919, in regard to the character and relative merits of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, these letters having been found in the Lodge Papers which are being sorted and arranged for the manuscript collections of the Society.

May Meeting, 1948

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 13, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President Bigelow in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. Grinnell, Mr. Whitehill was chosen Recording Secretary pro tempore.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Miss Margaret E. Allen, of Brookline, a collection of Allen-Ware family letters, 1782–1852, which had been placed in the Society on deposit on April 14, 1933.

From Miss Louisa F. Cobb, of Barnstable, the diaries of Mrs. Katherine Farnham Hay, May–June, 1788, and of her nephew John Hay Farnham, 1806 and 1825–1832.

From Howard Dakin French, of Natick, the original will of Thomas Dakin, of Concord, dated January 20, 1697; the commissions granted to Samuel Dakin in 1745 and 1755, and five letters written by him to his wife during the French and Indian War.

From Earl Leslie Griggs, of Los Angeles, California, autograph letters of Phillips Brooks, James Thomas Fields, George Ticknor, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

From Harry D. Nims, of New York, New York, a small collection of printed and manuscript material relating to the Civil War history of the Second

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[5] Printed in this volume, 262–273.

Battery, Massachusetts Volunteer Light Artillery, commanded by Captain Ormand F. Nims.

From Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, of Boston, additions to the Ridley Papers, including letters written by John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and Robert Morris; miniature engraved portraits of Theodore Sedgwick (1746–1813) and Theodore Sedgwick (1780–1839); a miniature engraved portrait of William Henry Harrison by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de St.-Mémin; miniature portraits of Essex Sherborne Ridley and Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick, Jr.; silhouette portraits of Governor William Livingston, Mrs. William Livingston, and Andrews Norton; a goblet owned by Matthew Ridley and a painting of the Ridley coat of arms.

From Arthur Pforzheimer, of New York, New York, photostatic copies of several letters written by Thomas Paine to Thomas Walker.

By purchase: John Russell, *A Brief Narrative of some Considerable Passages Concerning the First Gathering, and further Progress of a Church of Christ, in Gospel-Order, in Boston in New-England, Commonly (though falsly) called by the Name of Anabaptists* (London, 1680), an extremely rare Baptist pamphlet.

The Society elected Arthur Stone Dewing, of Newton, Robert Earle Moody, of Needham, and Vernon Dale Tate, of Hingham, to Resident Membership.

The chair announced the appointment of the following committee in preparation for the Annual Meeting in October:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: PALFREY PERKINS, *Chairman*; HAROLD BOWDITCH and ROBERT E. PEABODY.

It was *voted* that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Mr. WILLIAM PHILLIPS read a paper entitled "The Two Sides to the Palestine Problem."[6]

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1948

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 14, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

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[6] Printed in this volume, 392–403.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. J. Templeman Coolidge, of Boston, the passport of John T. Coolidge, issued July 16, 1852.

From Mrs. Samuel Foster Damon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a collection of Wheelwright family photographs.

From Benjamin Joy, of Boston, an order drawn by Charles Bulfinch for the purchase of land, dated at Boston, January 8, 1799.

From Francis F. Tucker, of Daytona Beach, Florida, a small collection of maps of Natick, Massachusetts.

By purchase: two volumes of notes on sermons preached in Boston in 1691–1692, taken in shorthand by Benjamin Webb; a collection of letters addressed to Mrs. Elizabeth Wainwright, 1790–1837; the great six-volume work by Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909* (New York, 1915–1928); three rare printed pieces: *The Confession of Faith and Church-Covenant: Solemnly Made & Entered into by the Church of Middleborough, December 26, 1694* (Boston, 1722); *A Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies . . . Setting forth the Causes and Necessity of their taking up Arms* (Newbury-Port, 1775); and Thomas Shepard, *Theses Sabbaticæ. Or, the Doctrine of the Sabbath* (London, 1649).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from AFFONSO DE ESCRAGNOLLE TAUNAY, of São Paulo, Brazil, accepting his election to Honorary Membership.

The chair announced the death on June 29, 1948, of GEORGE MACKINNON WRONG, a Corresponding Member since June 8, 1922; and on September 11, 1948, of WALTER HARRINGTON KILHAM, a Resident Member since May 8, 1947.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., addressed the Society on the subject of "Free Speech among the United Nations," drawn from his experiences as representative of the United States at Geneva, Switzerland, during the preceding summer.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

The Director, calling attention to the repairs completed and the alterations under way to the building, and to the economies effected by the Society's steady reduction of the outlay for salaries and pensions during the past twenty years, read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

UNDER the new By-Laws of this Society it is the duty of the Director, instead of the senior retiring Member-at-Large of the Council, to prepare and to read the Annual Report of the Council.

Since the meeting of October 9, 1947, the Council has acted to meet the great continuing emergency of the past twenty years—the steady deterioration of this building and the overcrowded condition of its contents. A survey of the building was made on October 6, 1947, after which your Director took the Members of the Council for a tour of your real estate from the basement of the building up to its roof. Acting with the advice and consent of your Council, your President called in Horn Brothers as contractors, and Robert M. Becker as construction engineer.

The work then undertaken and still under way is of two kinds. The first consisted of utterly necessary repairs to this building: the roof leaked in half-a-dozen places, several of the drains were stopped up with tar and gravel from the roof to the depth of four feet, and the supplementary stairway to the basement behind the front lower hall was literally falling away. During periods of heavy rain parts of the basement of the building were flooded with water to the depth of three or four inches. The Council voted the money for these repairs at once. They have cost approximately $15,000. This cost represented the accumulated decay of years of neglect of which it is idle to complain and for which it is useless now to try to fix the blame. Whoever sowed the wind it is we who are reaping the whirlwind.

The second problem which the Council had to meet was the question of the adequate housing of our books and all our precious and irreplaceable manuscripts. Valuable as are many of the volumes which we have purchased, inherited, and received during the century and a half of our existence, the most important property—of which we are all, in a direct sense, the trustees—is the magnificent collection of manuscripts, the greatest and richest in New England, and one of the finest in the United States. Once the Council discovered that it was possible to divide the two-storied room over the Dowse Library with a new and a fourth floor, the decision was taken, and that new floor has now been made an actual part of the building. The elevator has been extended to provide access to it, and a fire escape has been constructed at the rear of the building to conform with a municipal code of safety, which the Society had been quietly violating for many years.

At one stroke, then, we have doubled the capacity of our stacks. The new stacks will be air-conditioned and dust-proof, and, we hope, fool-proof. All the manuscripts will be placed on the new and fire-proof fourth floor, and the books will be sorted in such a way as to place the dead volumes in the three tiers of stacks over the Council Room, or the Waterston Library. Both the old third floor and the new fourth floor will be under lock and key. Even the elevator doors cannot be opened by any person not a member of the staff. New shelves have been constructed for the catalog room on this floor. The tower room at the top of the building has been painted and fitted with racks on which all the surplus portraits and pictures will be stored carefully for the first time. The filthier rooms of the building have been washed and painted. Some day the whole interior of the building will have to be refinished. It is planned to house all the special libraries eventually in glass-front, lockable new book-cases to be built in Ellis Hall, immediately beneath this room. There will repose, before very long, the small but valuable libraries left us by Robert C. Waterston, Kingsmill Marrs, Henry Adams, and the late thirteenth President of the Society, Francis Russell Hart. At the present time these volumes are scattered about the building in complete disregard of the wishes of their donors, and with scant respect for their value.

In the middle of all this confusion and noise your Director has seen through the press the late Mr. Mayo's *Winthrop Family in America*, has brought out the current volume of the *House Journals* and sent copy for the next one to the press, and has practically completed the new *Handbook to the Society*, the first to be published since 1918 and the first complete description of this Society—Members, By-Laws, endowments, manuscripts, and museum—ever to be published. I hope to have this guide in your hands by December. Once it is out, no Member of the Society will have any excuse whatever for not knowing all there is to know about this institution, its purposes, its persons, and properties. This publication has been under way for a long time: as a private Member of this Society your Director was authorized to prepare it by vote of the Council on November 9, 1944—almost four years ago.

The Director realizes that the chief interest of Members in the publications of this Society is in the volumes of *Proceedings*. Mr. Forbes brought out the sixty-seventh volume in 1945. It is my purpose to devote all the time which I have left for editorial duties to the preparation of Volume 68 of the *Proceedings* which will cover the three years, 1947 to 1950. In view of the time and trouble which I have had to give to the late Mr. Mayo's *Winthrop Family in America*, I shall be compelled to leave the preparation of the sixth volume of our *Winthrop Papers* to the future. If there is any widespread dissatisfaction with the new arrangement of the volumes of *Proceedings*—the placing of all the papers together in chronological order and the reports of the meetings at the rear of the volume—the Director hopes that Members will send their objections to him for reference to the Committee of Publication. The Chairman of your Committee of Publication, Arthur M. Schlesinger, sailed for the Netherlands on September twenty-fourth, and will be absent in Holland lecturing at the University of Leyden until June, 1949. In the meantime, Mr. Whitehill and I, together with Dr. Shipton, will exercise actual control over all the publications of this Society.

Dr. Shipton is preparing the eighth volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates*, a volume which, according to his plans, will contain the lives of the men who attended Harvard in the years 1726–1730, inclusive. Members of the Society need hardly be reminded now that the cost of preparing and publishing these volumes of Sibley is the first charge on the income of the largest single fund in the endowments of this Society. With the Winthrops paying for the *Winthrop Papers*, all this Society can possibly afford to publish, by any stretch of the imagination, is its biennial volumes of the *Proceedings* and an occasional volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*. The *House Journals* fall into a special category, for the income of the W. B. H. Dowse Fund belongs, by right, to that work. In view of the constantly rising cost of producing these volumes, the Society will have to petition the Commonwealth, sooner rather than later, to increase its annual grant for the purchase of the three hundred copies which go to the public libraries of Massachusetts.

During the past year the Society has made several important accessions, both by gift and by purchase. The greatest acquisition to the Cabinet was a gift from Mary Orne Bowditch of bronze casts taken from the first replica of the life-masks of the face and hands of Abraham Lincoln which the sculptor Leonard Wells Volk took in 1860—the face in Chicago in April, and the hands in Springfield, in June. These bronze casts were made about 1875 from molds Volk himself sent from Rome to the French painter Gérôme, who was the teacher of his son, in Paris. Truman H. Bartlett borrowed the molds, had these casts made in Paris, and gave them to Alfred Bowditch. Mr. Bowditch gave them to his daughter, Mary Orne Bowditch, who deposited them in the Cabinet of the Society in 1919, and gave them to the Society on February 12, 1948.

Apart from current accessions duly reported at the monthly meetings, we have gained three great accessions to our Library of Manuscripts—two by gift and one by purchase. The first of these was due to the unremitting efforts of our President and the generosity of Senator Leverett Saltonstall; his mother, Mrs. Richard M. Saltonstall; his brother, Richard Saltonstall; his sister, Mrs. George Lewis—the Saltonstall Papers, 1592–1855. These papers are all in good condition, having been carefully arranged by Mrs. William S. Carlisle, over a period of twenty years. With the death of William Sumner Appleton there came in by gift all the remaining papers of Nathan Appleton and most of his descendants. Fortunately for this Society, Miss Frances Gregory, who was preparing a doctoral dissertation on Nathan Appleton, plunged into these papers and put them into reasonable order.

After extended negotiations with Horatio Seymour, of California, the Council purchased seventy-two unknown and unpublished letters written by John Adams to his son, Charles, during the years 1790–1797, Mr. Seymour being the great-great-grandson of Charles Adams and the great-great-great-grandson of John Adams, the second President. Mr. Henry Adams has taken copies of forty-two letters written by Charles to his father, John, now in the Adams Papers in this building, with the plan of publishing this fascinating correspondence, 114 letters in all, in the future. The letters which we purchased throw a new and interesting light on the character of our second President. A considerable portion of the cost of these letters is being contributed by the generosity of one of our Resident Members. All in all, accessions to our Library of books and manuscripts are as follows:

Books:	By gift	345	Pamphlets:	By gift	213
	By purchase	55		By purchase	6
Periodicals:	By gift	485	Broadsides:	By gift	88
	By purchase	87		By purchase	3
Newspapers:	By gift	19	Maps:	By gift	8

A large part of the time of your Librarian, Mr. Riley, and his assistants, Mr. Wheeler and Miss Fox, is consumed in taking care of visitors to this building—Members and other scholars who need waiting on. During the last year there were 258 visits from Members, and 1102 other persons have worked on the premises. The telephone is a necessity and an almost constant nuisance. We now have to protect ourselves from impertinent persons who call up to elicit answers for quiz programs on the radio and contests in the newspapers. We never provide the information asked for, but merely refusing to do so takes precious time from the duties of the staff. Owing to repairs and alterations, the building was closed to visitors with the consent of the Council on the first of September. Unavoidable delay in the work has forced the extension of the closing of the building to the present time.

During the past year the huge collection of the papers of the late Henry Cabot Lodge have been sorted, sifted, and arranged by year and alphabet. A part of the expense of this work was provided by our Resident Member, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and his aunt, the late Mrs. Constance (Lodge) [Gardner] Williams. The gentleman whom we hired to do this work on half time is now within sight of the goal. He is working on the year 1921, and before very long some ninety file-boxes of this extremely interesting collection of correspondence will be safely and properly arranged on our shelves of manuscripts. Half-a-dozen scholars are already working over these papers under the eyes of the staff, acting in accordance with the terms of an agreement made between the present Senator Lodge and the late Mr. Allyn B. Forbes. Unfortunately, the sudden death of Mrs. Williams cut off all prospects of future grants of money from her.

During the past year the attendance at meetings was up to average. The best record was made in May when our new Member, Mr. William Phillips, read a paper on Palestine; the smallest attendance was that for December, a total of 23. The average attendance was slightly over 28. Owing chiefly to the efforts of your Chairman of the Committee on Meetings, your First Vice-President, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, the calendar for the current year is practically filled at the present time, although absence and illness may lead to necessary last-minute alterations in the program.

The gravest problem still ahead of us is the continuing annual deficit of almost $5,000. This cannot go on indefinitely; however, no accessions to endowments in sight are likely to provide the income with which to meet this deficit. In this connection, these charts of the payments for salaries during the past twenty years may be of interest: 1929—1939—1948. A glance will show you that our annual payments have actually decreased from those of 1929 by about $6,000, only one third of which is accounted for by the abolition of the photostat. Graver danger lies ahead of us. Income from capital is slowly decreasing, and prices are steadily rising. Our financial state is anything but bright.

During the last year the Society has lost by death HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE, Resident Member of the Society since December 10, 1936, in Brookline, on October 29, 1947; WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON, Resident Member of this Society since February 8, 1917, in Lawrence, on November 24, 1947; JOHN BASSETT MOORE, Corresponding Member of this Society since May 10, 1900, in New York City, on November 12, 1947; GASPAR GRISWOLD BACON, Resident Member of this Society since June 8, 1933, in Dedham, on December 25, 1947; WILLIAM AUGUSTUS JEFFRIES, Resident Member of this Society since October 14, 1937, in Milton, on February 20, 1948; WALTER HARRINGTON KILHAM, Resident Member of this Society since May 8, 1947, in Boston, on September 11, 1948; GEORGE MACKINNON WRONG, Corresponding Member of this Society since June 8, 1922, in Toronto, Canada, on June 29, 1948. At the present moment, the Society has one vacancy each in the Resident and Corresponding Memberships.

STEWART MITCHELL
For the Council

Mr. Loring, taking care to inform the Members that the somewhat larger deficit for 1946–1947 reflected, in part, payments for nonrecurring costs of major repairs read the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

I HEREBY submit my report for the Society for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.

	1946–1947	*1947–1948*
Gross Income from Securities	$42,735.78	$44,720.83
Expenses	31,427.09	36,875.80
Deficit	5,214.26	8,928.23

The increase in Income from Securities can be tabulated for ease in comparison as follows:

	1946–1947	*1947–1948*
Book Value of Bonds	$395,975.05	$395,669.05
Bond Interest	9,887.01	10,775.00
Investment Ratio	40.54%	39.72%
Book Value of Stocks	$580,698.40	$600,478.24
Dividends	32,979.75	33,916.50
Investment Ratio	59.46%	60.28%

Although the Income from Securities for the year ending June 30, 1948, shows a gratifying increase over the prior year of $1,985.05, expenses for the same period have increased as well, as tabulated below:

	1946–1947	*1947–1948*
Building	$ 3,926.87	$ 8,228.35
Library (including Bindery $0.80)	2,100.10	1,913.02
Administration	2,659.24	2,823.82
Meetings and Membership	259.21	314.98
Salaries	22,481.67	23,595.63
	$31,427.09	$36,875.80

During the year, extensive repairs to the buildings were made, including considerable refurbishing of the library furnishings, as set forth in the detailed schedule of the report. These items, amounting to $4,384.43, are of course of a non-recurring nature, and upon their elimination would show the ordinary maintenance charges to be consistent with other years.

Salaries were increased a little due to the addition of the new man working on the Lodge Papers. As you know, $1,000.00 was donated for the task of arranging the papers of the former Senator Lodge. This sum has been completely exhausted, and the deficit has been added to the general deficit, which in turn has been charged to the Adams Fund in accordance with the vote of the Council in 1944. Should additional funds be forthcoming on account of the Lodge Papers, it will be a simple matter to reinstate the Lodge Papers account and to carry it along as a distinct fund. Until such funds are contributed, I see no particular virtue in carrying a special fund deficit.

Three new funds were added during the year, all unrestricted both as to principal and income, namely: Louisa W. Case of $5,000.00, Henry Lefavour of $10,000.00, and Helen A. (Lake) Lill of

$5,851.04. It is particularly gratifying to receive unrestricted funds as the Society has need of them.

Investment changes during the year, presented in detail in Schedule 1-A of the auditor's report, were negligible, the sales consisting chiefly of rights received on securities held, and the purchases confined to three stocks only. A comparison of book value to market follows, showing percentages of each classification to the whole:

	Book Value	*%*	*Market Value*	*%*
Bonds	$395,669.05	39.72	$ 387,070.00	36.06
Preferred Stocks	17,216.55	1.73	16,412.50	1.53
Common Stocks	583,261.69	58.55	669,893.10	62.41
	$996,147.29	100.00	$1,073,375.60	100.00

The books of the Society have been brought up to June 30, 1948, in agreement with the report, by writing a summary of the year's transactions as reported by the State Street Trust Company.

In last year's report, I said that I could not see how it was possible to live within our income unless we received voluntary contributions and this is more evident this year than last. Our deficit is steadily increasing. In 1945–1946 it was $494.59, in 1946–1947 it was $5,214.26, and this last year, as I have stated above, it was $8,928.23. Of last year's deficit $4,384.43, as I have said before, is of a non-recurring nature but even with the increase of income, we would still show a deficit. Fortunately for us, the deficit has been met out of increase in our market value over book value but this is not a good practice. Our experience has shown that our appeals for voluntary contributions have been rather unsatisfactory.

Augustus P. Loring, Jr.
Treasurer

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
Albert Francis Bigelow

Vice-Presidents
Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, JR.

Cabinet-Keeper
HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Members-at-Large of the Council
1948–1951
HENRY LATIMER SEAVER
CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH

November Meeting, 1948

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 18, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. GRINNELL, Mr. WHITEHILL was chosen to act as Recording Secretary pro tempore.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Dartmouth College Library, a collection of legal papers relating to the Charles River Bridge Case, 1837.

From H. Russell Drowne, Jr., of New York, New York, a document dated 1849 bearing the signatures of the merchants of Boston recommending the appointment of Rufus M. Gay as naval officer.

From Mildred Howells, of York Harbor, Maine, and John Mead Howells, of Kittery Point, Maine, a note-book dated August 18, 1876, written by Elinor G. Howells, in which she copied all her Hayes ancestry from papers that her cousin, President Rutherford B. Hayes, had lent to William Dean Howells for use in writing a campaign life of Hayes.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York, New York, a small collection of miscellaneous manuscripts.

From Ellery Sedgwick, a number of Sedgwick family letters to be added to the collection now owned by the Society.

By purchase: eight letters written by Joseph Dudley while in England in

1701, concerning his efforts to secure appointment to the governorship of Massachusetts, and Robert Haswell's log of the second voyage of the ship *Columbia.* When the Society published the *Voyages of the* Columbia *to the Northwest Coast* . . . under the editorship of Frederic W. Howay in 1941, the whereabouts of the original manuscript of Haswell's Second Log was unknown. It was necessary to use a copy found in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. A comparison of the copy with the original manuscript now shows that the Bancroft copy is incomplete. Instead of ending with the entry of December 7, 1792, as in the copy, the original manuscript concludes with the entry of May 26, 1793, 106 pages of additional information. The acquisition of this manuscript now gives the Society ownership of the four important journals dealing with the voyages of the ship *Columbia.*

The chair announced the death at Berkeley, California, on October 24, 1948, of FREDERIC LOGAN PAXSON, a Corresponding Member of the Society since January 8, 1931.

The President announced the standing committees which he had appointed for the year 1948–1949:

Finance: ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW, *Chairman ex officio*; RALPH LOWELL and JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL.

House: CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND, *Chairman*; JOHN ADAMS and CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH.

Library: CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, *Chairman*; WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL and LEE MAX FRIEDMAN.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman*; ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., and WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON.

Membership: AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., *Chairman*; ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., and STEWART MITCHELL.

Publication: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, STEWART MITCHELL, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

The chair made a statement on the program of repairs and alterations to the building and asked all Members who were interested to look over the building after the meeting had adjourned.

CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, Sibley Editor of the Society, read a paper entitled "A New Estimate of Thomas Hutchinson," this paper being drawn from a biography of Governor Hutchinson which he had prepared for the forthcoming volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates, 1726–1730.*

The Honorable W. CAMERON FORBES presented the Society with eight volumes of letters and reminiscences of John Murray Forbes which he had found in his house in Naushon. These volumes were edited by his daughter, Sarah (Forbes) Hughes, and were privately printed; they are now quite unobtainable. He also presented a letter from Salmon Portland Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, to William H. Aspinwall and John Murray Forbes, dated May 30, 1863, dealing with the possible duration of the Civil War.

December Meeting, 1948

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 9, 1948, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From U. Haskell Crocker, of Milton, a box of records of the Proprietors of the Revere House.

From Mrs. A. W. Parent, of Lowell, a "Plan of Sundry Farms &c. at Patucket in the Town of Chelmsford, 1821."

From Mrs. Hannah R. (London) Siegel, of Boston, a collection of material on silhouettes.

From Miss Mary T. Spooner, of New York, New York, a number of navigation books and logs of voyages in various ships kept by Thomas Nicolson and Samuel Nicolson, 1766–1813.

By purchase: John Cotton, *The Covenant of Gods free Grace* (London, 1645) and his *Sixteene Questions of Serious and Necessary Consequence* (London, 1644); Cotton Mather, *The Palm-bearers* (Boston, 1725).

The Director announced a gift of $100 for the deficit, from SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON.

Mr. F. LAURISTON BULLARD read a paper entitled "The Magnanimity of Abraham Lincoln."[7]

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[7] Printed in this volume, 274–307.

January Meeting, 1949

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 13, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The President submitted copies of a summary of the investments of the Society as of December 31, 1948, this statement having been prepared by the Finance Committee at a meeting with the Treasurer and submitted to the Council. The President asked all Members who were interested in the state of the investments of the Society to take home copies of this statement which had been prepared for them. As of December 31, 1948, the Society owned total securities having a book value of $1,011,810, and a market value of $1,073,180, in addition to $8,530 cash.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Augustus N. Hand, of New York, New York, a manuscript journal kept by Francis William Lawrence (1839–1905), of a trip from Boston to Washington in April, 1853.

From Lawrence W. Jenkins, a deed of land at Ferry Farm on Winnisimmet from Elizabeth Bellingham to Captain John Smith, dated September 6, 1697.

By purchase: a collection of over 300 letters written to John Osborne Sargent (1811–1891), the prominent Whig journalist and literary figure. One half of the sum of money needed for the purchase of this collection was given by Mr. Henry Barrett Huntington, of Providence, Rhode Island.

The Director announced that the widow of the late LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO had brought in twenty copies of a volume of Mr. MAYO's essays which she had had privately printed at the Merrymount Press, as gifts to those Members of the Society who might wish to accept the volume.

The Director read a list of donations which he had received from Resident and Corresponding Members since the last meeting of the Society, these gifts having been made for the expense of publications, the purchase of manuscripts and books, and for meeting the annual deficit of the Society. Commenting on this annual deficit the Director stated that the expense of the rising cost of printing was a steadily increasing peril to the income of the Society. The fifth volume of the

Winthrop Papers, published in 1947 and printed at the Merrymount Press, had cost the Society slightly more than $5,000. The fourth volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates,* published in 1945 and printed at the Harvard University Printing Office, had cost the Society about $4,500 for 750 copies. The Director said that in response to his inquiries the Harvard University Printing Office stated that the forthcoming volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates* would cost the Society about $6,000.

The Director reminded the Members that all the costs for the preparation, printing, and binding of LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO's *Winthrop Family in America* (1948) had been met by ROBERT WINTHROP, of New York, a Corresponding Member, and FREDERIC WINTHROP, of Hamilton, a Resident Member of the Society.

The Director asked all Resident and Corresponding Members please to keep the Society in mind when they were disposing of volumes of American history and biography which they no longer wanted for their libraries.

The Director reported that with the closing down of the Merrymount Press, of Boston, it had been decided to give most, if not all, of the printing of the Society to The Anthoensen Press, of Portland, Maine, where the costs of printing were somewhat lower than those current in Boston.

MARK DEWOLFE HOWE read a paper entitled "The Creative Period in the Law of Massachusetts."[8]

February Meeting, 1949

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 10, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Ralph Lowell, of Westwood, a number of photographs, including one of the Lowell house in Roxbury.

By exchange: a small collection of nineteenth-century pamphlets, formerly owned by Amos A. Lawrence.

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[8] Printed in this volume, 232–251.

By purchase: [Cotton Mather], *The Balance of the Sanctuary* (Boston, 1727). This copy has the rare half-title page.

The Director called attention to the fact that the Society first met in the present and third Dowse Library here at 1154 Boylston Street on March 9, 1899, almost fifty years ago.

The Director reported an anonymous contribution of $500 from a Resident Member of the Society to be used by the Treasurer toward meeting the annual deficit.

ROBERT EARLE MOODY read a paper entitled "A Re-Examination of the Antecedents of the Massachusetts Bay Company's Charter of 1629."[9]

The Director then read selections from the Lodge Papers taken from correspondence among President Theodore Roosevelt, HENRY CABOT LODGE, and ELIHU ROOT covering the gift of a silver vase costing $74 by these three men to the late Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN in 1907.

March Meeting, 1949

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 10, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Ernest Amory Codman and Mrs. Franklin Green Balch, of Boston, two albums containing Civil War photographs collected by Charles Pickering Bowditch.

From Mrs. Allen French, of Concord, a volume of notes and correspondence relating to Benjamin Thompson, compiled by the late Allen French.

The Director called attention to the fact that fifty years ago, March 9, 1899, the Society met in this, the third Dowse Library at 1154 Boylston Street, for the first time.

At the request of the Librarian the Director asked all Resident and Corresponding Members to send in to Mr. Riley any books which they were weeding out of their libraries.

The Director reported that ninety Members in all of the Society

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[9] Printed in this volume, 56–80.

—sixty-five Resident and twenty-five Corresponding—had asked for and received copies of Lawrence Shaw Mayo's *Winthrop Family in America.*

The Society elected Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, of Cambridge, to Resident Membership; and Richard LeBaron Bowen, of East Providence, Rhode Island, Edmund Sears Morgan, of Providence, Rhode Island, and Dexter Perkins, of Rochester, New York, to Corresponding Membership.

The Director exhibited a dry-point engraving of the Arch of the Tontine Crescent which he had discovered and purchased at Goodspeed's Book Shop just too late for use in his *Handbook.* He reported that copies of the *Handbook* were being mailed as speedily as possible. He asked that all errors be called to his attention promptly.

Bernhard Knollenberg spoke on "Jonathan Mayhew and Thomas Hollis: Their Correspondence, 1759–1766," and submitted his paper for publication in the *Proceedings.*[10] Later Mr. Jackson exhibited copies of books given to Harvard College by Thomas Hollis, which volumes he had kindly brought over from the Houghton Library.

Mr. Eliot commented on the character and career of Jonathan Mayhew, stating that his father had told him that when the heads of orators were being chosen for the Sanders Theatre end of Memorial Hall, an image of Jonathan Mayhew had been urged on the Corporation, but that the head of Daniel Webster was finally chosen for the place of honor. Mayhew, Mr. Eliot added, was the aggressive and original Unitarian in the community of New England.

April Meeting, 1949

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 14, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, Vice-President Howe in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. F. C. Dugan, of Louisville, Kentucky, a collection of papers relating to the Preston-Dodge families of Danvers and Salem, 1758–1877.

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[10] Printed in this volume, 102–193.

From Roger Gilman, of Cambridge, a small collection of manuscripts relating to the Pateshall family.

From Henry L. Mason, of Boston, a large collection of hymn books, including many of the works of Lowell Mason.

From Harry D. Nims, of New York, New York, the manuscript Minute Book of the Nims Battery Associates, 1864–1867, and some photographs of the Battery.

By purchase: *Articles of Peace between the Most Serene & Mighty Prince William the Third, King of Great Britain, and the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Lewis the Fourteenth, the Most Christian King, Concluded in the Royal Palace at Ryswicke the 10.20 Day of September, 1697* (Boston, 1697), and *An Abstract of the Treaty of Peace, Concluded . . . at Ryswicke, September 20th. N.S. 1697* (Boston, 1697). These are apparently the only copies known.

A rare dance item, John Griffiths, *A Collection of the Cotillions and Country Dances . . .* (Northampton, [1794]).

The Director asked all Members please to send in any corrections of mistakes or misprints which they might find in the new *Handbook* of the Society.

The Director exhibited a daguerreotype of the fourth home of the Society at Thirty Tremont Street, this daguerreotype having been taken on April 19, 1840, and procured for the Society from Beaumont Newhall of the Eastman Historical Photographic Collection in Rochester, New York, through the kind offices of Mr. WHITEHILL.

The Director commented on the bequest of the library of the late Governor CURTIS GUILD, Jr., of three family portraits, and the sum of $10,000 under the will of the late Sarah Louisa Guild, of Boston, who died on April 3, 1949.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received acceptances of election to Resident Membership from HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA, of Cambridge, to Corresponding Membership from RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN, of East Providence, Rhode Island, EDMUND SEARS MORGAN, of Providence, Rhode Island, and by proxy from DEXTER PERKINS, of the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, Mr. PERKINS being on academic duty in Sweden.

The chair called the attention of the Members to the new *Handbook* which had recently been issued, stating that copies of this would reach Members as promptly as they could be sent out from the office.

At the request of the chair, the Director explained briefly the purpose of the proposed amendment to the By-Laws, as announced in the call for the meeting, according to which the Resident Membership would be raised from a maximum of 100 to a maximum of 125, and the Corresponding Secretary explained the necessity for introducing some express statement as to the number of Resident Members in the By-Laws in consequence of the action of the Legislature of March 5, 1945, which act had been accepted by the Society on April 12, 1945.

After considerable discussion, the Resident Members voted by secret ballot to accept the proposed amendment—28 voting in the affirmative, 4 in the negative, and 2 abstaining.

St. George Leakin Sioussat spoke on the subject of "Duff Green as Executive Agent in England, 1841–1843: An Episode in American Diplomacy in the Administration of President Tyler."

May Meeting, 1949

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 12, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, President Bigelow in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth Green, of St. Louis, Missouri, an album of photographs of members of the Harvard Class of 1855.

From Mrs. Henry K. Metcalf, of Cambridge, a letter of Robert Browning to Samuel S. Shaw, dated at London, October 25, 1876.

From Miss Alice Walton, of Boston, a journal kept by her mother, Electa Nobles Lincoln, June 23, 1848, to April 19, 1849.

By purchase: a broadside, *By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq. . . . A Proclamation for a general Fast* (Boston, 1767).

On the motion of the Treasurer, it was *voted* that the income from the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The Director read a letter from Douglas Southall Freeman asking for assistance from the Society in regard to his study of the Siege of Boston.

Julian Parks Boyd read a paper entitled "Thomas Jefferson Helps the Historians to Perpetuate Error."[11]

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[11] This paper appeared in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIV

Annual Meeting

OCTOBER, 1949

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 13, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, President Bigelow in the chair.

The President announced that it had been decided to revise the order of the program as announced on the notice of the meeting so that the Annual Report of the Council should be read to Members before the monthly paper.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Copley Amory, of Boston, a manuscript volume of letters of his grandmother, Mrs. Martha Babcock Amory, 1833–1834.

From Samuel Cabot, of Jamaica Plain, two letters of Samuel Cabot, dated January 14 and February 7, 1842, describing his travels in Central America; a letter of Rudyard Kipling to Mrs. Cabot dated August 19, 1906, and other documents.

From Claude M. Fuess, a small collection of letters of Henry Cabot Lodge and William C. Endicott; also, two large photographs of Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton from the original portraits now in the Department of State and two large photographs of Rufus Choate and Henry Cabot Lodge.

From the estate of Mrs. David Greene Haskins, Jr., of Wayland, an oil portrait of Samuel Nicholson, and the commission, signed by Washington, appointing him the first commander of the frigate *Constitution*; a prior commission to Nicholson appointing him commander of the sloop *Dolphin*, signed by John Hancock; three commissions to the three sons of Nicholson, signed by the second, third, and fourth Presidents of the United States, and the swords formerly belonging to one of the sons.

From H. Leavitt Horton, of Boston, a volume of manuscript essays by Hannah Rogers written in 1823–1824.

From Esther Jackson, of Peterborough, New Hampshire, a small collection of miscellaneous pamphlets.

From Chauncey C. Nash, a privately printed volume containing a tribute to the founders and original members of the Walpole Society by some of its members, a copy of his paper on James Otis, and a letter from Jonathan Trumbull to Major-General John Sullivan dated at Lebanon, April 27, 1778, relating to the Rhode Island expedition.

From Harry D. Nims, of New York, New York, additional manuscript

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(January, 1950), 51–73, under the title, "The Disputed Authorship of The Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, 1775."

material relating to the Civil War history of the Second Battery, Massachusetts Volunteer Light Artillery, commanded by Captain Ormand F. Nims.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York, New York, a letter from Thomas Burnet to Jacob Wendell dated at London, May 16, 1730, relating to the estate of his brother, Governor William Burnet, and five letters written by Robert C. Winthrop to various correspondents.

From Sidvin Frank Tucker, of Winthrop, two plans of Winthrop drawn by him. One of the plans shows Winthrop as it was in 1690.

From George G. Wolkins, the manuscript records of the Proprietors of the School in the Westerly End of Roxbury, 1740–1820.

On deposit: by Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr., and Richard Cary Curtis, of Boston, a collection of Cary papers spanning the nineteenth century.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the acceptance of election to Corresponding Membership of DEXTER PERKINS, of the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

The chair announced the death of JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS on May 18, 1949, a Corresponding Member of the Society since May 11, 1922.

Mr. JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS read a paper entitled "Harvard College and Governor Dummer's School."[12]

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

The Director read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

ALL Members of the Society who have studied its By-Laws will know that it is now the duty of your Director to prepare the report of the Council, to submit it to that body, and then read it to the Annual Meeting. The endeavor has been to be brief, in spite of changes already achieved and necessary plans for the future. During the past twelve months most of the time of your Director and much of the time of the staff have gone into the business of housekeeping. The contents of this curious building have had to be moved round and about out of the way of workmen, who have sometimes waited weeks for their supplies. Keeping up with the current correspondence of the Society and extending our common courtesies to scholars and to visitors have left us all very little time for our important secondary duties.

The work of construction and repairs to the building is only presently completed. This work has meant hours of anxiety for all your staff, under the constant, courteous, and cordial command of our President and his House Committee, Messrs. Richmond, John Adams, and Nash. It has cost a comfortable little sum of money—but money which was there and for that purpose. Two great changes have been effected since our last Annual Meeting. In the first place, the Old Museum on the first floor to the left of the entrance has been cleared out and fitted with modern steel stacks in which all the volumes of the four Special Libraries—the Henry Adams, the Francis Russell Hart, the Kingsmill Marrs, and the Robert Cassie Waterston—are now being placed. The major portion of these lovely books has rested for years in dust and neglect, and in the cellar. New electric lights have been put into this room. Before long the library of the late Curtis Guild, Jr., Resident Member from 1910 to 1915, will be added as a fifth Special Library. Soon we shall be able to think of these books—even to show them to the public—without a sense of deceit and shame. This work was done by contract, and has cost about $5,600.

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[12] Printed in this volume, 194–206.

In the second place, most of the contents of this dreary Old Museum have been moved across the building into Ellis Hall, directly beneath this meeting room. Some of them have been disposed of, always with the advice and consent of your Council. The Speaker's Desk of the Provincial House of Representatives, for instance, has been sent back to the Old State House where it properly belonged, as a gift to the Bostonian Society. Five or six odds and ends of antique furniture have been appraised and sold, and the proceeds of that sale applied to payment for the new floor of asphalt tiles which has been superimposed on the old floor of hard wood which had deteriorated to the point of disgrace. Certain junk from the Cabinet awaits the inevitable process of judicious defecation. The walls of Ellis Hall, the New Museum, have been scrubbed. The ceiling is going to be painted. All your twenty steel exhibition cases have been arranged in this room in such a way as to show to Members and the public much of the most interesting and precious property in our possession. In this connection, your Council cannot omit to mention the painstaking labor of Mrs. Hitchcock, Miss Davis, and the Editorial Assistant, Miss Bruce—much of that work performed on their own time—in sorting, sifting, cleaning, arranging, and labeling a vast variety of unique objects. For the first time, if memory serves, Ellis Hall presents an appearance which is not repellent. The only thanks which these ladies ask of you is that some time some of you may visit our New Museum—without having to be asked to do so!

During the past two years the whole work of repair and reconstruction to this building has cost approximately $85,000. This leaves a balance of only $2,500 in your Building Fund. The Council feels that this sum should be held back for possible emergencies. Yet there remain two pressing problems to be answered. The first is the cleaning out of the basement and the installation of proper lighting there, and the building of adequate shelves for the growing nuisance of newspapers. The second problem is our antiquated and destructive heating system. Action here must be both soon and late. First, the heat and air ducts of this building must be cleaned by vacuum process of their film of filth. Later on, a modern system of steam heat must be installed—that is, if you wish to retain what you have recovered. Both these problems must be met but there is no money left with which to meet them. If you seek the Building Fund look about you. And remember that your Council spent that salted money just in the nick of time.

Now as to the portraits and pictures of the Society. These were all surveyed by experts during the past year, and twelve of them were sent over to the Museum of Fine Arts for cleaning and for repair. Some other pictures were given away, a few were sold. Most of the good ones were rehung on the strangely limited wall space of the building, and the third-rate ones were stored in the new racks built for that purpose in the fourth floor tower room of the building. Now old ladies can be shown the images of their ancestors—significant or insignificant—in a matter of a few moments. The beautiful works are visible to any visitor.

In this connection, the Council calls your attention to the fact that during the past year several important loans from the Cabinet have been made to various parts of the country. In January, Smibert's *Peter Faneuil* and Emmons's *Samuel Sewall* went out to the Art Institute of Chicago for a visit of six months. In February, Christian Gullager's *George Washington,* painted in 1789 and acquired from a descendant of our Founder in 1921, was lent to the Worcester Art Museum, where it occupied the central place of honor for three or four months during an interesting exhibition of that painter's work. This fascinating portrait has been placed—it is hoped with complete propriety—over the doorway to this Dowse Library. In September, Shem Drowne's Indian weathervane from the old Province House was packed up and lent to the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts. And a few days ago, four Smiberts, *Bishop George Berkeley*, *Jane Clark*, *Peter Faneuil*, and *Mary Ann (Faneuil) Jones*, and Emmons's *Samuel Sewall* all left together in a truck for the Yale University Art Gallery where they will hang on exhibition until November twentieth. Our precious Paul Revere urn, on permanent exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, was also loaned to the Art Institute of Chicago. Jefferson's manuscript catalogue of his library was lent to the Library of Congress. Our valuable Admiralty Oar, made by Jacob Hurd, remains on display at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where it has lain for the past ten years. All these loans have been covered by ample insurance and are excellent advertisements for this Society, much as they disturb the arrangement of the building and distress your Director by their absence.

The great Coin Collection of this Society, kept of necessity under lock and key, has been revised and partially repaired with the kind coöperation and under the supervision of your Council and our colleague, Chauncey Cushing Nash. Certain duplicate coins have been sold and the proceeds of those sales carefully applied to the filling of gaps in this magnificent Adams-Appleton Collection. Sooner or later, some Resident Member of this Society must gird up his loins and take on the duty of Curator of Coins—a post vacant since the death of the late Shepard Pond in 1945.

During the past year, the Society has received a legacy of $1,000 from the estate of Albert Matthews, and has been willed $10,000 by the late Sarah Louisa Guild, together with a library and three family portraits. The Treasurer has received gifts of $7,610 from the following eight Members: Henry Adams, Lawrence Jenkins, Samuel E. Morison, Stephen Willard Phillips, Carleton Richmond, Ellery Sedgwick, and Frederic and Robert Winthrop. These contributions were made not only to help meet the deficit of the Society but toward the purchase of the John Adams letters, 1790–1797, and for the continued publication of our definitive edition of the *Winthrop Papers*. Anonymous donors have paid for new desks, chairs, and other articles of furniture for various parts of the building.

Now as to the Membership of the Society. At the April meeting, after some discussion, the limitation on Resident Membership, established at 100 in 1857, was raised to 125. The two nominations brought in today will raise the Resident Membership in November to the unprecedented total of 102, for not one Resident Member has died during the past year—a remarkable record. During the same time we have lost only two Corresponding Members, Frederic Logan Paxson on October 24, 1948, and James Truslow Adams on May 18, 1949. One Resident Member, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, was added to the rolls in March, 1949, and three new Corresponding Members, Richard LeBaron Bowen, Edmund Sears Morgan, and Dexter Perkins, were elected at the same time. Attendance at the meetings has improved, if only slightly. In 1947–1948 the average was 28; in 1948–1949 it was 30.

Respectful attention is called to a change in one of the offices of this Society. After a service of twelve years, the Reverend Henry Wilder Foote has retired as Cabinet-Keeper at his own request, and Walter Muir Whitehill was placed in nomination in his stead. For many years before he was elected Cabinet-Keeper in his own right, Mr. Foote served as the indispensable assistant to the late Grenville Howland Norcross, during which time he carried the burden of the office. It would be idle to call attention to the consideration and kindness of Mr. Foote. Your Council hopes that he will long continue to coöperate as an active Resident Member of this Society.

In spite of all the trying difficulties resulting from the cleaning, repairing, and reconstruction of the building, and the necessary closing of it to the public for one month last autumn, 1002 visitors have been supplied with help and service by our small staff since last November. In addition, your Director and Librarian, together with the staff, received 150 members of the Special Libraries Association of New England here in the Dowse Library on the evening of Monday, September 26, 1949, greeting them with information as to the possessions and purposes of the Society and then taking them over the building.

Our small staff has suffered one painful loss—Miss Dorothy Fox, who worked here for nine years cataloging books and pamphlets and answering almost incessant calls by telephone, left us on September 15, 1949. When Miss Fox received a financially flattering offer from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts College last August, your Director, with the advice and consent of your Council, told Miss Fox that she could not afford to refuse the offer, and that the Society could not afford to match it. Here we have met misfortune, and Miss Fox has yet to be replaced.

During the past year the following accessions have been made to the Library:

Books:	By gift	147
	By purchase . . .	68
Pamphlets:	By gift	281
	By purchase . .	14
Periodicals:	By gift	494
	By purchase . .	96

Ninety-four broadsides, thirteen maps, and 136 newspapers also were purchased. Gifts of this kind from Resident Members are hopefully invited, for the income available for buying accessions to our Library of books and manuscripts is lamentably low.

No great accession to the manuscripts can be announced for the past year, but one important reform has been completed. The papers of the late Henry Cabot Lodge are now in order from one end to the other —129 file boxes of them (1856 to 1924)—and Mr. Arthur K. McComb has left the payroll of the Society to become a teacher at Wellesley. It would be impossible to speak too highly of the care and patience which Mr. McComb has given this work during the past eighteen months. The achievement, moreover, is valuable for the good reputation of the Society throughout the United States. Swarms of scholars are beginning to descend on these Lodge Papers, and the clean, good condition in which they are now to be found (after the dust and disorder of twenty years) can only redound to the credit of this Society in the whispering gallery of the academic world: new donors or depositors may add to our amazing store of manuscripts. For this work on the Lodge Papers we received $500 each from Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and his aunt, Mrs. Constance (Lodge) [Gardner] Williams. No further gifts have come in, so the overdraft on the Special Lodge Fund stands presently at $1,562.67.

As to publications, your Director can report to your Council only with diffidence, if not despair. There is a grim truth which the governors of this Society have refused to face, or have denied, for many years. "Things and actions," wrote Bishop Butler long ago, "things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why, then, should we desire to be deceived?" Long ago, plans for publishing were undertaken which were even *then* beyond the means of the Society: the late Charles Francis Adams, for instance, met most of the cost of the late Worthington Ford's Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* out of his own pocket, and that was not his only act of secret generosity. The gap between income and cost of publication grows wider year by year. The cost of printing is rising by leaps and bounds; income from our endowment is *not* rising.

Let us take the simplest problem first—that of the *Winthrop Papers,* the fifth volume of which appeared in 1947. The cost of a sixth volume is already at hand—the income from the two Winthrop Funds, amounting to $1,600 annually, and the yearly pious gifts to this Society from Robert and Frederic Winthrop. Yet none of this money, you understand, of course, can be spent for any other publication. Copy for this sixth volume (1650–1656) is only partially prepared, and your Director refuses to pitch a half-baked book to the public.

The second easiest problem of publication is that of the eighth volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* which will be the fifth to come from the hands of our colleague, Clifford Kenyon Shipton. It should be remembered that Mr. Shipton can give only one third of his time to this distinguished and exacting work, for Mr. Shipton is three persons in one—he is Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society and Archivist of Harvard College, as well as Sibley Editor of this Society. The harder Mr. Shipton works at Cambridge and Worcester, the sounder our Treasurer will sleep at night. Yet the cost of the impending eighth volume of the series of *Harvard Graduates* must be met promptly when it is ready for publication, for the preparation of biographies of graduates of Harvard is the first charge on the income of the Sibley Fund, according to the will of its donor.

Thus far this year, your Director has been able to publish only the long overdue new edition of the *Handbook,* or the directory, of this Society—literally the last imprint to issue from the Merrymount Press—and the twenty-fourth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts.* Let me use the *House Journals* as an example of the financial danger which confronts us. The provincial House began to print its journals in 1715; the last volume appeared in 1780.

We have completed the reprinting of them to the year 1748; so thirty-three volumes yet have to be reprinted. These cannot come out annually, and yet they ought to. Let me explain the paradox. In 1927–1928, the late William Bradford Homer Dowse gave the Society $25,000 to pay for the continuance of this work which was rashly undertaken, without cost-plus basis, in 1918. This W. B. H. Dowse Fund earned twelve hundred dollars per annum when Mr. Dowse gave it; *now* it earns one thousand dollars. Until two years ago, the Commonwealth, by means of buying 300 copies of every edition, contributed $750 a year to the expense. In 1948, the Commonwealth was persuaded to raise this sum to $1,000 a year for both 1948 and 1949. Last spring your Director appealed to the State House again, and the sum of $1,500 a year was put into the budget of the Commonwealth for the years 1950 and 1951.

Yet all is not sweetness and light. Printers, *also*, ask for more money. In 1930, the Society paid $4.40 a page for the composition of these *Journals*; now it pays $8.50 a page. Worse still, the journals of the provincial House are increasing in size: the volume (1748–1749) now in the press consists of 193 pages; that for 1749–1750 contains 240. Your Director estimates the cost of the current volume at $2,600. To meet this cost, the Society will probably receive $2,605. Yet skipping years in order to let the income of our Dowse Fund accumulate is dangerous, for the simple reason that if a volume of the *House Journals* does not appear in any given year, the grant from the Commonwealth reverts to the Treasury, and once the Commonwealth gets out of the habit of granting this money, it might be difficult for the Society to persuade it to restore the appropriation to the budget.

The dominant interest of our Members is the date of publication for Volume 68 of our *Proceedings*. When the Merrymount Press suddenly folded up last February, a new printer had to be found for the Society—The Anthoensen Press, in Portland, Maine. The composition of the eight papers already set up here in Boston had to be paid for promptly, and Mr. Bianchi then sent the type for these eight papers down to Portland. This volume of *Proceedings* is our immediate concern, but every time someone asks about it, the question occurs: "Suppose *Proceedings* 68 were ready tomorrow; with just what would our Treasurer pay for it?" The late Mr. Forbes preferred, perhaps wisely, to let publications take precedence of everything else. Since then, the making of books has been allowed to bide its time for the meeting of more earthy emergencies. Yet each sort of service has the true sake of this great Society at heart. But let us not deceive ourselves too long. We are rapidly reaching the end of our rope. This Society is living beyond its means. It has been doing so, and blithely, as far as can be determined, for many dangerous years. The easy method of surviving is to pass the hat for annual deficits. The *hard* way—and, of course, the *right* way—is to add to our capital funds.

When your Director unexpectedly and sadly took this office in March, 1947, he quietly determined to do three things. Once these were done, he would bow himself out of duty and return to the prudent and pleasant life of minding his own business.

He resolved to: *1.* Make over this building.
2. Break open the Resident Membership.
3. Increase the Capital of the Society.

If the first and second goals have been reached, the highest hurdle is still ahead. We are left on the horns of this dilemma:—the safe way to hold him in this office *now* (and the sure way to get *rid* of him when you want to) is to raise money for this Society. Certainly, then, support for the campaign for a new Endowment Fund ought to be generous. It ought to be even unanimous.

Stewart Mitchell
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

I HEREWITH submit my report for the Society for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949. In accordance with my custom of prior years I supplement the formal report with a few comparisons and comments which you may find interesting. Again this year there was an increase of income from securities as will be seen in the following tabulations:

	1947–1948	*1948–1949*
Book Value of Bonds	$395,669.05	$380,552.45
Bond Interest	10,775.00	10,405.00
Investment Ratio	39.72%	38.28%
Book Value of Stocks	$600,478.24	$613,484.14
Dividends	33,916.50	36,763.16
Investment Ratio	60.28%	61.72%

The total increase in Income from Securities for the year ending June 30, 1949, totaled $2,476.66, an encouraging factor. However, expenses for the same period tabulated below increased as well:

	1947–1948	*1948–1949*
Building	$ 8,228.35	$ 6,182.57
Library	1,912.22	3,576.07
Bindery	.80	154.00
Administration	2,823.82	2,537.24
Meetings and Membership	314.98	433.37
Salaries	23,595.63	27,183.34
Coins and Medals		649.41
	$36,875.80	$40,716.00

The increase in expenses as shown above was caused by greater expenditures for library books and subscriptions and the addition of a new full-time building assistant superintendent. Building expenses declined because of decreased expenditures for repairs. Not shown in this expense classification is the cost of building alterations amounting to $77,088.78 which was charged to the Building Annex Fund principal. As you know, this gave the Society another whole floor for storage and exhibition purposes.

The expenditure for salaries still includes that spent for arranging the papers of former Senator Lodge. As stated in my letter last year, the $1,000.00 donated for this purpose has been completely exhausted, and the deficit has been added to the general deficit, which in turn has been charged to the Adams Fund in accordance with the vote of the Council in 1944. If additional funds are forthcoming on account of the Lodge Papers, then the Lodge Papers account may be reinstated as a distinct fund by reimbursing the Adams Fund for the amounts charged thereto which at June 30, 1949, amounted to $2,065.06. Until such funds are contributed, there is no cause to carry a special fund income deficit.

Annual deficits charged to the Adams Fund are as follows:

1945	$ 1,009.40
1946	494.59
1947	5,214.26
1948	8,928.23
1949	8,763.20
	$24,409.68

The Book Value of the Adams Fund at June 30, 1949, is $28,308.15.

One new fund of $1,000.00 from Albert Matthews was added during the year. The principal of the fund is restricted, one fourth of the yearly income is to be added to the principal, and three fourths to be expended in the purchase of books, pamphlets, newspapers, or manuscripts.

There were numerous changes in the investment portfolio during the year, both as to purchases and sales. Schedule 1-A of the auditor's report presents these changes in detail. The following is a comparison of Book Value to Market Value with percentages of each classification to the whole.

	Book Value	*%*	*Market Value*	*%*
Bonds	$380,552.45	38.28	$ 366,120.00	36.21
Preferred Stocks . . .	59,041.01	5.94	54,975.00	5.44
Common Stocks . . .	554,443.13	55.78	590,094.76	58.35
	$994,036.59	100.00	$1,011,189.76	100.00

The books of the Society have been brought up to June 30, 1949, in agreement with the report, by writing a summary of the year's transactions as reported by the State Street Trust Company.

Again, as I reported last year, I do not see how it is possible to live within our income unless we receive voluntary contributions. Our deficit is steadily increasing as I have shown you. Although the deficit does not look large it still is some $2,000.00 over last year. We have a commitment for the Adams Letters of $2,500.00, half of which has been given, but the other half has not yet been raised. I feel that something should be done beyond the attempt to increase our income through investments. As you will see, this deficit can only be met approximately three years more by the Adams Fund, as in that time this Fund will be about depleted.

Augustus P. Loring, Jr.
Treasurer

After the Treasurer submitted his Annual Report, it was moved by George Gregerson Wolkins that:

"Fred Norris Robinson, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Raymond Sanger Wilkins, John Adams, and Lee Max Friedman be a committee of the Society at large to examine painstakingly and with care the financial position of the Society, to ascertain the occasion and the reason for recurring and continuing annual deficits, to confer and advise with members of the Council in relation to the sources, apportionment, and expenditure of income, to consider any questions of general policy that may arise in connection with these highly important matters, that they be given full and complete authority to send for persons and papers, and that they be directed to submit recommendations to a meeting of the Society at as early a date as to the members of the committee may seem desirable and practicable."

After brief remarks by the President, the motion was not seconded.

Mr. STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS requested, however, that Members of the Society be given a brief statement of its financial condition, and the President promised that he would consult with the Finance Committee and prepare such a statement for the November meeting.

Mr. NASH, acting for the Nominating Committee in the absence because of illness of the Chairman, CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM, of Worcester, and his colleague, FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS, of Lancaster, submitted their report, presenting candidates for officers for the coming year. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW

Vice-Presidents
MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer
AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Cabinet-Keeper
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Members-at-Large of the Council

1949–1952
HAROLD BOWDITCH
ERNEST STANLEY DODGE

November Meeting, 1949

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 10, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Annie E. Gardner, of Cambridge, a small collection of Civil War letters written by Robert Thaxter Edes of Boston, who served as a surgeon in the United States Navy.

From Lawrence W. Jenkins, a share of stock of the Salem Iron Factory Company, containing an engraving by G. Graham of the company buildings about the year 1810.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York, New York, a number of letters written by Robert C. Winthrop to various correspondents, 1842–1894.

By purchase: eight supplements to the *Boston Gazette* of 1767; a file in microfilm of the *Connecticut Courant*, 1790–1820.

From Mrs. Charles Sumner Hamlin, the Senate chair of Charles Sumner.

From the estate of the late Mrs. Edmund March Wheelwright, widow of the architect of this building, two French garden statues of lead.

The Society elected Stephen Thomas Riley, of Worcester, and Warren Gage Wheeler, of Dedham, to Resident Membership.

On the motion of the Treasurer it was *voted* that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The President then read the following financial statement, saying that mimeographed copies of it would be distributed to all Members present and mailed to all Resident and Corresponding Members who were not present at the meeting:

At the October meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society Mr. WOLKINS, after hearing the Annual Report of the Treasurer, made the following motion: "That FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., RAYMOND SANGER WILKINS, JOHN ADAMS, and LEE MAX FRIEDMAN be a committee of the Society at large to examine painstakingly and with care the financial position of the Society, to ascertain the occasion and the reason for recurring and continuing annual deficits, to confer and advise with members of the Council in relation to the sources, apportionment, and expenditure of income, to consider any questions of general policy that may arise in connection with these highly important matters, that they be given full and complete authority to send for persons and papers, and that they be directed to submit recommendations to a meeting of the Society at as early a date as to the members of the committee may seem desirable and practicable."

The motion was not seconded.

Mr. Stephen Willard Phillips then rose and asked your President to prepare for Members of the Society a simple statement of its capital funds, the annual income therefrom, the apportionment of that income, the expenses of maintenance and publications, and the deficit for the past nine months.

We all appreciate the interest of both Mr. Wolkins and Mr. Stephen Willard Phillips in the Society's resources and expenses and their anxiety about the constantly recurring and continuing annual deficits. In accordance with the request of Mr. Phillips, your President has prepared two simple financial statements which are ready to be distributed to every Resident and Corresponding Member of the Society today. The Director will mail mimeographed copies to every Resident and Corresponding Member who is not present at this meeting.

The smaller of these tables consists of a simple statement of income and expenses for the nine months ending September 30, 1949. This shows a substantial deficit of almost $6,500.

The larger table consists of a detailed breakdown of investments and the book value of those stocks as of October 3, 1949: $1,017,790. The market value of these stocks and bonds is comfortably in excess of the book value.

On November 7, 1949, moreover, the Finance Committee voted to make certain sales and purchases with a view to increasing the income from the Society's capital funds.

The estimated gross income from investments for the year is $48,500, which shows an annual yield of 4.85 per cent. From this gross income there must be deducted a sum of $8,500 which is used for two purposes. The first is for the amortization of the premiums on bonds. The second purpose is for putting into capital those percentages of income which must be added annually to certain of our principal funds according to the terms of certain legacies.

After these deductions the Society has a net income available for its expenses of approximately $40,000. A large part of this net income is limited by the terms of the bequests to particular purposes or to certain special publications.

Since the Annual Meeting in October, JOHN ADAMS and CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, with the help of our Director, have given a great deal of time to studying these problems of income, expenses, and deficits. All three are entitled to our hearty thanks for their faithful interest in the financial affairs of the Society.

Although Mr. ADAMS and Mr. NASH have made distinct progress in studying the problem of our expenses, your President, at the Council Meeting held today, appointed the following committee to complete this study and to report to the Society at their earliest convenience: AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., *Chairman,* JOHN ADAMS, STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS, CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND, and ROGER WOLCOTT.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW, *Chairman ex officio*; JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL and RALPH LOWELL.

House: CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND, *Chairman*; CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH and JOHN ADAMS.

Library: LEE MAX FRIEDMAN, *Chairman*; HENRY LATIMER SEAVER and VERNON DALE TATE.

Meetings: MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman*; ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., and WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON.

Membership: AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., *Chairman*; ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., JOHN ADAMS, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Publication: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Mr. JOSEPH CLARK GREW read a paper entitled "The Lausanne Peace Conference of 1922–1923," describing his impressions of and experiences with Curzon, Mussolini, and Ismet Inönü.[13]

In presenting Mr. GREW to the Members of the Society, the President called attention to the fact that three former ambassadors of the United States were present in the room: the Honorable William Cameron Forbes, Joseph Clark Grew, and William Phillips.

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[13] Printed in this volume, 348–367.

December Meeting, 1949

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 8, 1949, at half-past three o'clock, Vice-President Howe in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Charles Knowles Bolton, a typewritten manuscript, "Some references to Massachusetts weather, 1620–1720"; also a list of his essays in note-books.

From Frederic Haines Curtiss, a copy of the *Rules and Regulations of the Amicable Fire Society, Instituted at Boston, February 5, 1785.*

From Mrs. Samuel Foster Damon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a small collection of books and manuscripts of Edmund March Wheelwright (1854–1912).

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York City, a number of letters written by Robert C. Winthrop to various correspondents, 1842–1887.

By purchase: two rare broadsides relating to Massachusetts, . . . *A Proclamation for a general Thanksgiving* (Boston, 1742) and *By His Excellency Richard Earl of Bellomont . . . A Proclamation [relating to the Darien Company]* (Edinburgh, 1699).

The Director, in reporting the accessions for the month, devoted some time to describing and exhibiting certain volumes and autographs received from the estate of Sarah Louisa Guild on Friday, November 18, and Monday, November 21, 1949.

The Director reported that he had received the following contributions toward meeting the annual deficit of the Society, amounting to approximately $8,500 a year—Gilbert H. Montague, $50; Stephen Willard Phillips, $500; William Phillips, $200; and Robert Winthrop, $2,600. He reported that half the legacy of $10,000 from the Sarah Louisa Guild legacy had already been mailed to the Treasurer.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance of election to Resident Membership in the Society from Stephen Thomas Riley, of Worcester, and Warren Gage Wheeler, of Dedham, these elections raising the Resident Membership to a total of 102.

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read a paper entitled "The Henry-Crillon Affair of 1812."[14]

January Meeting, 1950

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 12, 1950, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Albert C. Bonney, of Arlington, some printed material relating to the history of Chelsea and Boston.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York City, a number of letters and documents written by Robert C. Winthrop, 1848–1889. Many of the letters are addressed to Daniel Huntington, the painter.

From Miss Grace W. Treadwell, of Kittery Point, Maine, a collection of letters written by Samuel Quincy, the loyalist, to his wife and other members of his family, 1758–1789. Most of the letters are for the period after May, 1775, when Quincy was in London and the West Indies.

The chair announced the death at the Aurora Institute, Morristown, New Jersey, on January 5, 1950, at the age of ninety-two, of WILLIAM HOVGAARD, who was elected a Resident Member of the Society on January 8, 1931, and transferred to Corresponding Membership on December 31, 1934.

The President then presented to Members of the Society mimeographed copies of the latest financial statement from the Committee of Finance—Messrs. BIGELOW, HUNNEWELL, and RALPH LOWELL—and read a brief statement which he announced would be printed on the third page of the notice of the stated meeting in February.

CLAUDE M. FUESS read a paper entitled "Joseph Bartlett Eastman—A Study in Public Service."[15]

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[14] Printed in this volume, 207–231.

[15] Printed in this volume, 331–347.

February Meeting, 1950

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 9, 1950, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Albert C. Bonney, of Arlington, a number of photographic negatives of famous houses and structures in eastern Massachusetts.

From Mrs. Samuel Foster Damon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a series of printed articles by her father, Edmund March Wheelwright, on the American schoolhouse.

From Roger Gilman, of Cambridge, a collection of papers of the Sayer-Gilman family of Wells and North Yarmouth, Maine, 1705–1822.

From Mrs. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Brookline, a photostat copy of Thomas Hutchinson's account and defense of his conduct and actions in Massachusetts, 1764–1774. The original manuscript is in the Chapin Library, Williams College.

On deposit: from Roger Wolcott, some additional papers of William Hickling Prescott to be placed with the other Prescott papers.

By purchase: five broadsides, 1796–1817, relating to the town of Western, now Warren, Massachusetts.

The President made a brief financial statement of the investments and income of the Society for 1949, adding that he would submit a complete report at the meeting of the Society on March 9, 1950.

The Director asked Members for contributions to the Madeira Fund for the meetings of the Society, this fund having been overdrawn to the extent of $100, which sum would be put back into Petty Cash.

The Director submitted a painting on glass, which he had found in the Cabinet, of a lady and a naval or military person labeled "The Countess D-h-ff and Nauticus," this painting having been given to Jerusha Williams Fairbanks by British soldiers in 1776 and presented to the Society by her grandnephew, Charles A. Brown, of Lowell, October 11, 1923.

Mr. MITCHELL asked Members if any one of them could identify the persons depicted so that the painting could be correctly labeled for exhibition in the Museum. No solution was forthcoming.

CHARLES WARREN, of Washington, former Assistant Attorney

General and recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in 1923 for his *Supreme Court in United States History* (Boston, 1922), then read two papers from an unpublished volume to be entitled "More Odd Byways in American History."[16]

After remarks by Mr. Weis and Mr. Eliot relating to the history of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the meeting adjourned.

March Meeting, 1950

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 9, 1950, at half-past three o'clock, President Bigelow in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth Cook, of Cambridge, a portrait of Charles Sumner, by an unknown artist, painted after a photograph.

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York City, twenty-four letters of Robert C. Winthrop, 1840–1893.

From Edmund H. Royce, of St. Albans, Vermont, a small collection of Boston theatre programs, 1856–1878.

By purchase: an unrecorded recruiting broadside, *Advertisement. Whereas the Honourable Thomas Wentworth* . . . [Boston? 1741]. The piece is signed by John Winslow and dated October 19, 1741.

A copy of one of the earliest American printed account books, *The New-England Memorandum-Book, or Compleat Pocket Journal* (Boston, 1765). This account book was owned by Ezekiel Price, an insurance broker in Boston, and contains manuscript notes made by him in 1774–1775.

A letter written by Robert Southey, poet laureate, to William Westall, the book illustrator, dated at Netherhall, Maryport, August 12, 1821.

The President submitted a financial statement of the investment income and deficit, $10,530.07, of the Society for 1949, adding that he had asked the Director to mail a copy of this statement to all Resident and Corresponding Members of the Society.

The Director reported, as follows:

1. Stated that twenty-two Members of the Society had contributed $250 to the Madeira Fund and that he had asked Mr. Wheeler to place $100 in Petty Cash from which two cases of Madeira had been bought in 1949.

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[16] Printed in this volume, 252–261.

2. Called the attention of the Members to the new lights and reading lamp for the Dowse Library, which were a gift to the Society from a Resident Member.

3. Exhibited the autograph letter signed from Abraham Lincoln to EDWARD EVERETT in regard to the speeches made at Gettysburg.

4. Exhibited one of the early American campaign biographies—*The Life and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin,* edited by Reuben Vose (New York, 1860), and given to the Society by CHARLES CARD SMITH on June 23, 1886.

5. Read a postscript from a letter purchased by the Librarian, written by ROBERT SOUTHEY to William Westall, which read, "The Americans have made me a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society,—the greatest literary honour that America has to bestow."

6. Exhibited an account book and Winslow broadside purchased by the Librarian.

Mr. PAUL HERMAN BUCK, Provost of Harvard University, then read a paper, "Carl Becker as an Historian," tracing the growth of Becker as a teacher, as a scholar, and above all, as a thinker, and calling attention to his decline into despair in the evening of his life, largely as a result of his cheerful and indiscreet belief in Democracy.

After a question by Mr. GRINNELL as to whether Mr. Becker had ever taken the trouble to define "Democracy" in which he professed to believe, and Mr. SCHLESINGER on Becker as an editor, the Society adjourned.

April Meeting, 1950

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 13, 1950, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director, reporting for the Librarian, announced accessions for the past month:

From Mrs. Dorothy Quincy Bastille and Miss Esther Jackson, of Peterborough, New Hampshire, a small collection of manuscripts and photographs relating to the Jackson family of Boston.

From the estate of Mrs. Alice Washburn Heald Manning, of Istanbul, Turkey, the following books: a copy of the Bible (London, 1607) commonly known as the "Breeches Bible," a printed sermon by Cotton Mather entitled *The Comfortable Chambers, Opened and Visited* . . . (Boston, 1728), and a rare primer, *The New England Primer, Enlarged and Improved* . . . (Newburyport, [1790?]).

From Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York City, four letters of Robert C. Winthrop, 1853–1888.

By purchase: a collection of sheet music published by Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner, of Boston.

The Cabinet-Keeper announced the following accessions:

From Mrs. William Crowninshield Endicott, of Boston, the John Singer Sargent portrait of her late husband, William Crowninshield Endicott, twelfth President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, from 1927 until his death on November 28, 1936.

From Mrs. Oswald Garrison Villard, of New York City, as a gift in memory of her late husband, Oswald Garrison Villard, a silver tea service which was presented to William Lloyd Garrison by the Abolitionists of Edinburgh in 1846 during Garrison's third visit to Great Britain.

The Cabinet-Keeper called the attention of all Members present to the reorganization of the Cabinet and the transfer of most of its contents from the old Museum room, to the left of the front door of the building, to Ellis Hall. He stated that the transfer, the rearranging and the proper labeling of the contents of the Cabinet, and the rehanging of portraits and pictures had been chiefly the work of the Director, Mrs. Augusta Bruce Hitchcock, and Miss Isabelle Davis, and that this work had taken much time and trouble and deserved the appreciation and praise of the Members.

The President spoke briefly on the finances of the Society, stating that according to the latest calculations the annual deficit of the Society would amount approximately to $16,000, which had been charged not to Publications, for which there were certain restricted funds, but to the General Expenses of the Society, for which the income of unrestricted funds was utterly inadequate.

After a brief discussion by Mr. MITCHELL, CARL BRIDENBAUGH, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, Lecturer on History at the College of William and Mary, and Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, read a paper entitled "The Notorious Tom Bell—A Successful Harvard Man."

Tom Bell was born in Boston and enrolled at Harvard in 1730 at the age of eighteen. After numerous difficulties with the faculty, he was expelled from the college in February, 1733, for stealing letters and food from other students, for notorious lying, and for "scandalous neglect of his college exercises."

He sailed before the mast, spent eighteen months in London, and visited every British colony from Nova Scotia to Barbados. He practiced medicine, kept a store, and, by a natural course of events, inevitably taught school.

By 1739 Bell was ready for his amusing career as America's first confidence man. In the summer of that year he turned up in Barbados, where he passed himself off as Gilbert Burnet, son of the Governor of New York. The gentry of the island made a hero of him and lavished both time and money upon the impudent impostor. At length, Bell was unmasked at a wedding and severely whipped for defrauding the guests of money.

Bell got his revenge by raising the first anti-Semitic riot in the New World, but reports from Marblehead revealed his true identity, and he was whipped, put into the pillory, and sentenced to be branded. With his usual luck, he was reprieved by Governor Byng.

From 1740 to 1750 Tom Bell toured the British colonies concealed in the cloaks of the names of various families of great and good repute, such as Winthrop, De Lancey, Wendell, and Hutchinson. In the course of his wanderings he developed a superior skill in forgery, picking locks, stealing horses, seduction, jail breaking, and even preaching to congregations of the followers of the "New Light."

Thus, posing as the Reverend John Rowland in New Jersey in 1742, he stole the horse of his host and rifled his home. When the genuine John Rowland turned up in the community a few weeks later, he was promptly indicted by the Grand Jury, but luckily for himself was able to prove an alibi. His witness to this learned of Rowland's need of him in a dream and, as a consequence, came over from Philadelphia to help him.

Full of honors of a sort, Thomas Bell retired to Hanover County, Virginia, about 1750. There he went straight for two years and earned a certificate of good behavior as a schoolmaster. About 1752 he appeared for a brief time taking up subscriptions for his memoirs, which, had they ever been written and printed, would have been one of the most prized minor books of America today. In 1754 he retired to Antigua in the West Indies, where he dropped out of sight for ever.

May Meeting, 1950

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 11, 1950, at half-past three o'clock, President BIGELOW in the chair.

On the motion of Mr. GRINNELL it was *voted* to postpone the reading of the minutes of the meeting of the Society on April 13 until the Annual Meeting of the Society on the afternoon of Thursday, October 5, 1950.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Lawrence Waters Jenkins, a letter from Joseph Pearse Palmer to Israel Keith dated at Boston, February 6, 1770, and a rough draft of the account of the Battle of Bunker Hill sent to England by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. This document is dated at Watertown, July 25, 1775.

From Theodore W. Johnson, of Brandon, Vermont, a copy of Samuel L. Knapp's *Life of Lord Timothy Dexter* (Newburyport and Boston, 1852).

From Victor Hugo Paltsits of New York City, three letters written by Robert C. Winthrop to various correspondents dated September 25, 1871, January 4, 1879, and June 13, 1892.

From the estate of Ida F. Robbins through Ralph Hornblower, the executor, a small collection of ancient and modern coins including a number of American gold coins.

By purchase: the *Virginia Gazette Index, 1736–1780,* and a positive microfilm print of the newspaper. The money for this purchase was given by Lee Max Friedman, Chairman of the Library Committee.

The President announced the death in Cambridge on April 26, 1950, of HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA, who was elected a Resident Member on March 10, 1949.

On motion of the Treasurer it was *voted* that the income from the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Mr. ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER read a paper entitled "The Reform Impulse in American History,"[17] in which he said social and political reform has in general proceeded at a more rapid pace in America than in Europe, but not so rapidly as might have been expected when one considers the type of rebellious humans who in colonial times and after peopled America. This caution was due to the sobering effect of making a new start in an undeveloped land which held out indefinite prospects of personal and social advancement. The abiding spiritual roots of American reform have been Christianity and the philosophy of the rights of man underlying the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence, and these impulses to human betterment have been speeded or retarded by the recurrent wars and depressions. The actual accomplishments have been further conditioned by the nature of the federal system created in 1787, which has enabled the states to function as laboratories of social and political experimentation. Recent developments, however, have tended to pass the initiative to the central government. Is this to be welcomed? This question underlies much of the present division within the United States Supreme Court and poses an issue of crucial importance for the American people as a whole.

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[17] This paper appeared as the first chapter of *The American as Reformer* (Cambridge, 1950).

After hearing the paper, Mr. Grinnell commented that the greatest issue before the American people at the present time is "the trust or distrust of power and persons who possess it."

Corrections

Proceedings 67: Page 150, line 40, *for* January 4 *read* June 24

Proceedings 68: Page xix, line 24, *for* Bernard Fay *read* Bernard Faÿ

Page 273, footnote 1, *for* Dorothea (Payne) Madison (Dolly Madison) *read* Dolley (Payne) Madison

Page 356, line 17, *for* 1869 *read* 1868

Page 356, line 20, *for The read* the

Page 356, line 30, *delete* first

Page 359, line 6, *for* six *read* five

Page 365, line 5, *for* 1847 *read* 1849

Page 517, footnote 1, *for* 1949 *read* 1948

Page 519, line 13, *for* Stewart Mitchell *read* Clarence Saunders Brigham

Page 538, column 2, *for* Edwards, ———, *read* Edwards, Cyrus

Proceedings 69: Page 80, line 20, *for* James Southmead *read* John Southmead

Page 202, line 15, *for Nonogenarian read Nonagenarian*

Page 395, line 3, *for* James C. McDonald *read* James G. McDonald

Addition

Proceedings 68: Page 493, the portrait of Roger Bigelow Merriman was painted by Alexandre E. Iacovlef in 1936 for Eliot House, Harvard College.

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